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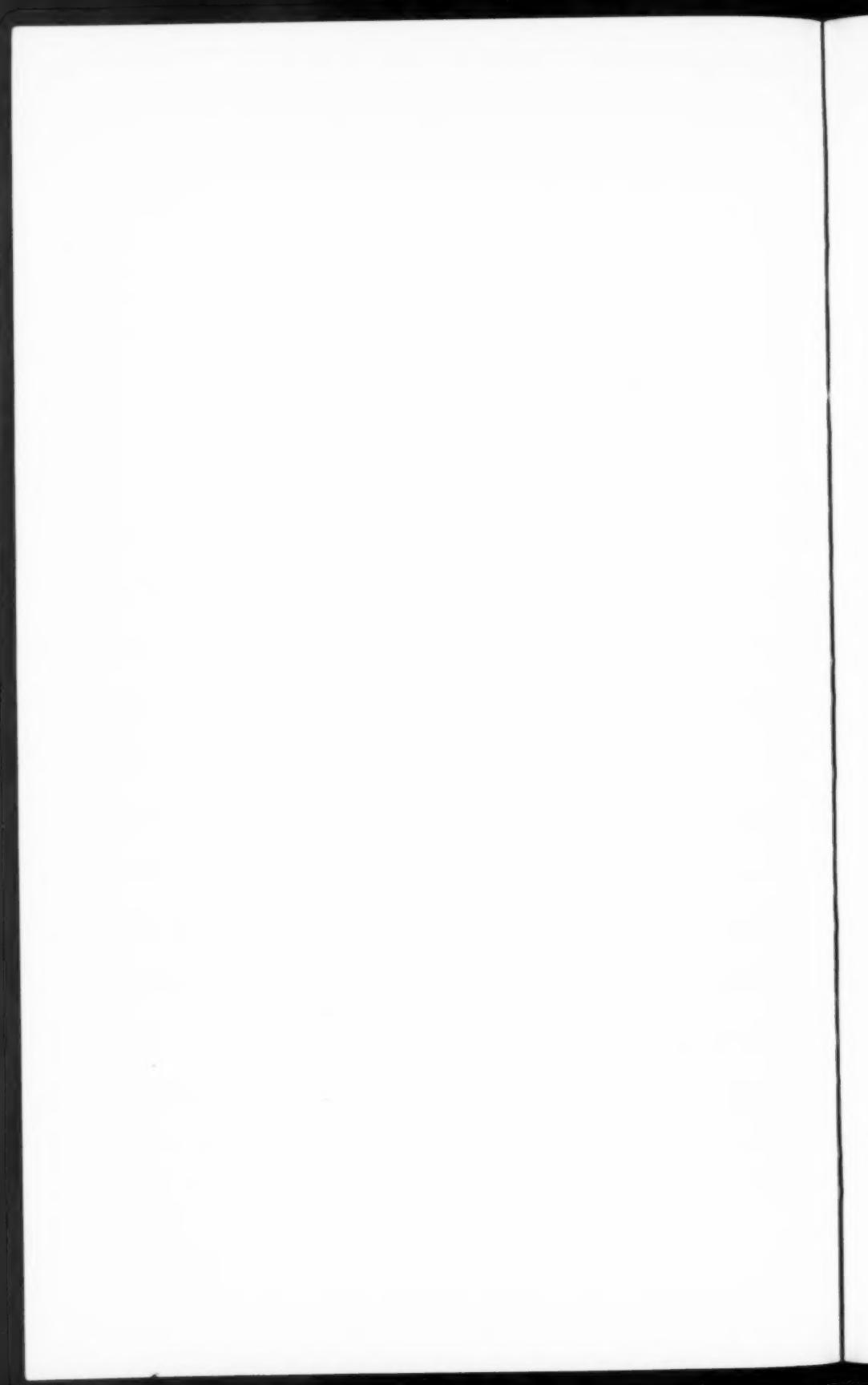
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# Modern Language Notes

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## TWO OLD NORSE NOTES

### I

#### *Old Norse hefja handa 'to Raise the Hands'*

Since the verb *hefja* regularly governs the accusative case, it seems inexplicable why in this phrase the accusative *hendr* was not used instead of the genitive *handa*. The transitive verb *hefja* 'to raise, lift' underwent no change of sense in the phrase *hefja handa*, and therefore we must assume that the genitive *handa* was for some reason substituted for the syntactically correct accusative *hendr*. So far as I know, this anomalous use of the genitive *handa* has never been explained. Our two chief authorities on Old Norse syntax, Heusler and Nygaard, do not explain it: Heusler does not even mention it in his discussion of the genitive case usage (*Altisländisches Elementarbuch*<sup>3</sup>; *Zur Syntax*, §§ 368-76) and Nygaard disposes of it by relegating it to the category of "Enkelstaaende anvendelser" (*Norrøn Syntax*, § 142, c), which includes genitives of various types, none of which he explains. Nygaard, however, notes (*ibid.*) that the phrase *hefja handa* had acquired the figurative sense of "foretage sig ngt., grieve sig an" (i. e., 'to undertake something, to make an effort [to accomplish something]'), as illustrated in the sentence: *þær frijja Leifi, at han vili aldri hefja handa, hverjar skammir sem heim eru gervar* (*Flat*, II, 398, 5), "They upbraid Leifr for never being willing to *raise his hands* (i. e., to make an effort to prevent or avenge) whatever disgraceful acts are inflicted upon them." This figurative sense of *hefja handa* lends the suspicion that an original accusative *hendr* was displaced by the genitive *handa* because the adverbial genitive

*handa* (elliptical for *til handa*) implied the sense of 'for a purpose, to a certain end,' as in the sentence (quoted by Nygaard, *Afslidte udtryk*, § 143): *lítlu síðar safnar konungr liði handa Oddi* (*Fld.* II, 553, 20), "A little later the king assembled an army for (the purpose of helping) Oddr." It is quite possible then that the substitution of the genitive *handa* for the accusative *hendr* was due to the semantic differentiation inherent in the two case forms<sup>1</sup>: *hefja hendr* (acc.) 'to raise the hands' (simply a physical act) > *hefja handa* (gen.) 'to raise the hands (for a certain purpose, to a certain end)' > 'to make an effort to do something'; cf. the English sentence: 'He would not lift a finger to help me.' The substitution of the genitive *handa* for the accusative *hendr* resulted in the wrong case form as the direct object of the verb *hefja* and thus may represent an example of borrowed syntax (genitive for accusative) due to the differentiation in sense between the two case forms. Nygaard (footnote to § 142, c) calls attention to the parallel usage of the genitive *hófuðs*<sup>2</sup> as direct object of the verb *hefja* in *Stjórn*, 397, 8: *þeir máttu aldri síðan hófuðs hefja*, "They could never afterwards lift their heads." The genitive *hófuðs* here (for the accusative *hófuð*) is easily explained as due to the formal pattern of (*hefja*) *handa* through association between *handa* and *hófuðs* as parts of the body.

## II

*Progressive Assimilation in the Clusters \*lR > ll, \*nR > nn,  
\*rR > rr, \*sR > ss*

When \*R followed l, n, s, it is clear that progressive assimilation occurred because \*R was not shifted to r but to the same consonant as preceded the \*R; cf. *\*stólR > stóll*, *\*steinR > steinn*, *\*lausR > lauss*. On the other hand, when \*R followed original r it was shifted to r, resulting in the geminate rr; cf. *\*verR > verr*. The fact that geminates resulted in both types led Noreen (*Altisländische Grammatik*<sup>4</sup>, § 277) and Iversen (*Norrøn Grammatikk*<sup>2</sup>, § 48, 3)

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *ekki at manna* (gen. pl.) *vera* 'not to be of (the quality of) men' = 'not to be a real man': *ekki at vera maðr* 'not to be a man (human being)'.

<sup>2</sup> One other example is quoted by Cleasby-Vigfusson (245<sup>b</sup>, under *hefja*): *sd er nú hefir eigi hófuðs* (*Nj.* 213).

to assume that the geminate *rr* (< \**rR*) was the result of assimilation, on a level with the geminates *ll* (< \**lR*), *nn* (< \**nR*), *ss* (< \**sR*). But the *r* (< \**R*) in the geminate *rr* (< \**rR*) was necessarily preserved because \**R* was always shifted to *r* unless the \**R* was lost through assimilation as in the first type. The normal shift of \**R* > *r* can then be the only reason for the second *r* in the geminate *rr* (< \**rR*), for if we assume with Noreen and Iversen that the second *r* was due to the *assimilation* of \**R* to *r*, then we must conclude that the \**R* never would have been shifted to *r* unless it had followed original *r*, which is obviously impossible. Noreen (whom Iversen evidently followed) failed to distinguish between the loss of \**R* through assimilation resulting in the geminates *ll*, *nn*, *ss* and the preservation of \**R* > *r* resulting in the geminate *rr*. We have here two types of geminates, one due to assimilation and the other due to the regular shift of \**R* > *r* after an original *r*, which *resulted* in assimilation.

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“HAFELAN HYDAN,” *BEOWULF*, ll. 446, 1372

Beowulf tells Hroðgar (ll. 445-6) that the king will not need *hafelan hydan* if Grendel kills Beowulf. The head involved is Beowulf's. Almost certainly *hafelan hydan* has something to do with death. Authorities have suggested that it could mean burial or covering the dead face with a cloth. But cremation was usual at ceremonial funerals, and covering the face with a cloth would presumably be part of an embalming process, of which there is no hint in *Beowulf*—nobody seems to cover Beowulf's dead face. Conceivably, if *hydan* can mean “to flay,” the phrase could indicate a kind of beheading, since non-fulfillment of promises or the non-passing of tests was often severely punished. But nothing in *Beowulf* is suitable to such a situation.

The phrase looks like a conventional euphemism, though the evidence I have for its conventionality is necessarily not good. If

conventional, it could, of course, be very ancient, more ancient than *Beowulf*, so ancient as to have been passing from the language.

As I read about them in Frazer and elsewhere, primitive peoples seem often to have been poetic realists in their uses of language and otherwise. A head is apt to seem the most distinctive feature of the self. A death-watch was a *heafodweard* (l. 2909). And the eyes are apt to seem the liveliest part of the head. Before death Guþlac "opened his eyes, the holy jewels of the head" (*Guþlac*, l. 1276, Gordon trsl.). He was alive, most alive, then. The head is hidden, the self does not exist, in sleep or death when the eyes are closed. "Hide" may mean as much "enshrouded" ("enskin") as it means "conceal."

Killing, caring for the dead or dying, primitive persons must have been more intimate with dying than we, with our doctors and nurses and undertakers, are. They must have watched the eyes glaze and roll or seem to turn inward, as the dying person's head hid from its own sight and was then to himself no more. Persons still hide the head in shame, often merely by putting an arm across the eyes. In this kind of imagery, involving a perspective which does not always distinguish subjective and objective, *hafelan hydan* means merely "to die" but also presents a picture. In *Integration of Personality*, Jung says more than once, and in several ways, that in the "collective unconscious" the subject often becomes object.<sup>1</sup> The same "hiding of the head" could be accomplished by the friend (Hroþgar) who closed the eyes of the dead (*Beowulf*) as well as by the throes of death—children are sometimes "hidden" in games by the adult who covers their eyes with the hands.

*Hafelan hydan* has been proposed, instead of *hafelan beorgan*, as the reading of l. 1372a in *Beowulf*, where an infinitive seems certainly missing. *Hafelan beorgan* does not alliterate. It makes dramatic but somewhat abnormal sense of its passage (ll. 1368-72): the hart will lose its life on the shore rather than save its head by plunging in the waters, the noxious waters. *Hafelan hydan* would alliterate with itself and with *heoru* (l. 1372b). But it has caused trouble. Why should the hart bury its head in the water if that is

<sup>1</sup> Georges Simenon remembered his great-grandfather: "He was very old and blind, and would wander through town stealing apples from carts. Because he was blind, he assumed that no one could see him" ("Profile," *The New Yorker* [Jan. 24, 1953], 38). See also Havelock Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, I, 78, note 2.

what the phrase means?<sup>2</sup> For harts are good swimmers, and with heads up! Or why put a cloth over a dead hart's face?

If *hafelan hydan* means merely "to die," then it is, in an oddly right construction, a kenning for *feorh seleb* (l. 1370b). The meaning is good. The hart, if it cannot save its life in the woods it belongs to, would die on shore rather than in the water, as would even many a good sailor.<sup>2</sup> And die it must.

It is notable that if this is the reading of *hafelan hydan*, the phrase has its active voice in l. 1372 (death declares itself by an act, the hiding, of the dying) and a passive voice in l. 446 (death is declared by an act, the hiding, of a by-stander). Used twice in *Beowulf* (if it were!), it would seem conventional.

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THE OWL AND THE NIGHTINGALE 258

THE SEMANTIC DEVELOPMENT OF SPELL (= "REST")

*The Owl and the Nightingale* 258 (the Owl's retort "Lat þine tunge habbe spale") has given rise to divergent interpretations. The meaning ("be quiet!") is obvious enough, but the exact significance of *spale* finds the editors in disagreement. The phrase is so close to a similar usage in the English of Australia and New Zealand that I believe the interpretation of the line lies in a largely unrecorded use of the word "spell" in these countries. English in Australasia (like English in U. S. A.) not infrequently preserves words and phrases that have died out in England, and the development in the Dominions can occasionally cast some light on forms fossilised in England.

<sup>2</sup> There could, of course, be "literary" reasons, in which case the hart would not be a hart but a symbol, as of somebody, say, rich in army but poor in navy. Only Beowulf in the poem can claim much sea-success. Hroðgar is curiously identified with Heorot, his own capitol in every way, not the traditional *eþelstol* of the Danes. It will be burned during his lifetime. He is preeminently the Hartling! The identification of the hart with the Hartling presumes that there is verbal irony in *Beowulf* (easy, I think, to prove), and it raises the fascinating question, Who are the harrying hounds? Hroðgar may well have had reasons to prefer land to water, especially if there was no hope (as the poet knew) anyway.

J. H. G. Grattan, the E. E. T. S. editor (1935), annotates *spale*: "The etymology is still uncertain. . . . Translate "put a splinter in your tongue" i. e. "stop your gab." Grattan is clearly following Stratmann-Bradley and the note of J. E. Wells who in his edition (1907) accepted the word as the same as the modern English dialect forms *spale*, *spall*, *spelch* (O. N. *spölr*) with the meaning of a shaving or a splinter of wood. Wells glosses *spale* in the poem as "a cleft stick in which the tongue is caught." Morris and Skeat in their *Specimens of Early English* gloss "a spell, a turn of work for a short time," comparing the Dutch *spelen* "to act a part." Though this gives a meaning directly opposite to the intention of the author, Morris and Skeat were on the right track, which was followed still further by J. W. H. Atkins in his edition of 1922. Atkins connects *spale* with the rare O. E. *spala* "a substitute" from the commoner verb-form *spelian* "to act as a substitute." He translates the whole line "Let thy tongue have a substitute, i. e. take a rest." From the later semantic history of the word and the similarity of the M. E. phrase to modern Australian-New Zealand idiom it would appear that already in Middle English *spale* had acquired the meaning that *spell* has in the Antipodes—"a rest from exertion, annoyance etc." "Give your tongue a spell" would have precisely the meaning of the Owl's remark in present-day Australasia. "Spell" in this sense is not a colloquial neologism but a genuine survival from the original English vocabulary.

The O. E. verb *spelian* is common in the sense "to represent, to take the place of another" cf. *se ramm hine spelode* ("the ram took his place"; see Bosworth-Toller under *spelian*). From *spelian* developed a group of noun-forms *speliend*, *gespelia*, *spala* all with the meaning "a representative, a vicar." From these forms eventually develop two usages, the verb "to spell"—"to act as a substitute, to give someone a period of rest"; and the noun *spale*, *spell* with the meaning of "representative" and then by transference the "period of time spent as a representative" and finally simply *spell* in the sense of "rest." The evidence from Middle English is scanty. Stratmann-Bradley cites seven instances of *spelian* in M. E. with the sense of "spare," the meaning probably developing from the sense "to give a rest to." Cf. *Piers Plowman* C. vii. 432: "And spilde that Ich *spele* myght." Apparently the only noun-form is the *spale* under discussion.

The later development, however, shows that *spell* in this sense had had a continuous history. Edward Phillips' dictionary the *New World of Words* (1706 edition) gives examples of the various usages of *spell*: "To do a spell," in sea-language, signifies to do any work by turns, for a short time, and then leave it. *A fresh spell*, is when fresh men come to work, esp. when the rowers are relieved with another gang; *To give a spell*, is to be ready to work in such a one's room." The first two usages ("a period of work") have survived into Modern English; the third ("a period of rest") is exactly the usage and phraseology of the Owl. Halliwell-Philips (J. O. Halliwell) in his *Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words* (1847) has two dialect usages of *spell* which prove the continued existence of the meaning "rest." He notes *spell* in the Somerset dialect in the sense of "relaxation; pleasure" and in the Yorkshire dialect with the meaning of "liberty." Halliwell-Philips' source for his Somerset words was a list made about 1790-1800, and for Yorkshire a glossary of the dialect of Craven, Yorkshire, of 1829 (cf. his introduction, *The English Provincial Dialects* xxii, xxvi). These dates are of some importance, for Wright in the *English Dialect Dictionary* (1898-1905) could find only Halliwell-Philips' two examples of the usage and marked the word "Not known to our correspondents." Some time in the nineteenth century the usage of *spell* as "rest" disappeared from England.

About the time when the usage became obsolescent in the English dialects, it was beginning its existence in Australia and New Zealand, which were being settled from 1790-1840 onwards, and this is now the normal usage in these two countries. Both noun and verb-forms are regular. E. E. Morris' dictionary *Austral English* (London 1898) provides nineteenth century examples: "In order to *spell* the oars" . . . i. e. rest them; "The only recompense was . . . to light his pipe and have a *spell*." A by-form *spello*, *spell-oh*! developed towards the end of the nineteenth century in Australasia and in nautical language, which may well form the link between the usage in England and in Australasia—Philips in 1706 mentions "sea-language" specifically and John Masefield (cf. Partridge's *Slang and Unconventional English* under *spell*) writes of *spell-oh*! as the call for rest on the Conway Training Ship. The formation is analogous to the Australian-New Zealand form *smoko* ("period off work for a smoke"). Modern phrases often heard are "to give

someone a *spell*," "To have a *spell*," "To take a *spell*." A New Zealand newspaper headline "Spell continues in London" meant that the blitzkrieg had ceased for a few nights. Although I cannot find confirmation in the works at hand on American English the verb usage is known at least in the South cf. Wm. Faulkner: *The Unvanquished* (1938) p. 193: "The hill men waiting to take turns with the shovel because Uncle Buck would not let anyone *spell* him with his" (i. e. give him a rest).

The development of meaning would appear to be (a) O. E. *spala* "a substitute"; (b) *spale*, *spell* "period of time spent as a substitute"; (c) period of rest during relief by a substitute; (d) period of rest—from labour, grief, annoyance etc. (the idea of a substitute disappearing). The evidence summarised above points to the existence of (b) and (c) in the late seventeenth century, (d) in the late eighteenth century in English dialects and (through nautical language) in the nineteenth and present centuries in Australia, New Zealand and U. S. A. There is no evidence to show that (d) was ever more than a dialect usage in English. It is certainly the sense that best fits *spale* in *The Owl and the Nightingale* and I think one is safe in translating as "Give your tongue a rest" the debated line "Lat þine tunge habbe spale."

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## TWO NOTES ON CHAUCER'S *TROILUS*

*Troilus and Criseyde* ii, 1735-1736:

And in the vertue of corounes tweyne,  
Sle nat this man, that hath for yow this peyne.

According to Mr. Robinson, "The significance of the *corounes tweyne* is uncertain."<sup>1</sup> Much astute comment has been offered by various scholars on this passage, and the meaning of the words has been related to nuptial crowns, or to crowns symbolizing pity and bounty, or to those of justice and mercy. The idea that they have

<sup>1</sup> F. N. Robinson, ed., *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, Cambridge, 1933, p. 933. The text here is quoted from R. K. Root, *The Book of Troilus and Criseyde*, Princeton, 1926, p. 139.

anything to do with the angelic crowns of roses and lilies in the *Second Nun's Tale* was rejected many years ago by G. C. Macaulay and ridiculed by Tatlock.<sup>2</sup> *The Complaint unto Pity* holds that pity (or whatever or whoever is symbolized in the "Benygne flour") is the "coroune of vertues alle" (58) "annexed ever unto Bounte," and later the poem says that it is also the "corowne of Beaute" (75); but we find here no clear indication of two crowns as such. Similarly there is nothing of the sort in the *ABC*, to which reference is sometimes made as suggesting a parallel (for example, in line 144).

It may be helpful, however, to hazard a guess as to the origin of the idea in the context of the *Troilus*. In a fascinating chapter of the *Road to Xanadu* on the subject of what he calls "hooked atoms," Mr. Lowes points out how association in a poet's memory may explain the "blending" of various forms of borrowed material. An example of this process may be found, I would suggest, in the development of the lines I have quoted from what was available in a passage in the *Filostrato* to which Macaulay's note draws attention. There, in what is really an earlier dialogue with Pandaro, Criseida denies her willingness to comfort Troilo and speak to him, and she says: ". . . for the crown of my virtue I intend on no account to give him."<sup>3</sup> To which Pandaro replies, "This crown the priests commend in those of you from whom they cannot take it." There is no closely specific parallel in Chaucer's dialogue; he invented the scene at the house of Deiphebus. But there is a similarity in the appeal of Pandarus, and one may compare "Sle nat this man" (ii, 1736) with the lines in the *Filostrato* (ii, stanza 137) which end "Se uccidi un tal uom." Or again take the warning against loss of time (ii, 1739 and 1749) and Pandaro's words "Che 'l perder tempo a chi più sa più spiace" (*Filos.* ii, stanza 135).

<sup>2</sup> Macaulay's comment urges that "With all his anachronisms, Chaucer does not forget that the folk of Troy were pagans," *Academy*, 1895, I, 339. Cf. Tatlock, *PMLA*, XLV (1930), 178-179, note 35.

<sup>3</sup> *The Filostrato of Giovanni Boccaccio*, N. E. Griffin and A. B. Myrick, Philadelphia, 1929, ii, stanzas 134-135:

"Che la corona dell' onestà mea  
Per partito nïun non vo donarli"

with the reply:

". . . Questa corona  
Lodano i preti a cui tor non la ponno."

We may notice too that a few stanzas later Chaucer begins another book, his third, with the words "O blissful light, of which the bemes clere," and Boccaccio starts the third of the *Filostrato* just a little later with the words "Fulvida luce, il raggio della quale." It seems obvious that the Italian poem here suggested the parallel with the stanza beginning "O luce eterna, il cui lieto splendore" (*Filos.* iii, stanza 74), which Chaucer certainly used at the beginning of Book Three. And there may be one or two other echoes of Boccaccio's invocation as in the following lines in the *Troilus* (iii, 41-44):

. . . so techeth me devyse  
Som joye of that is felt in thi servyse.  
Ye in my naked herte sentement  
Inhielde, and do me shewe of thy swetnesse.

These in idea are not unlike Boccaccio's lines (*Filos.* iii, stanza 1):

Or convien che 'l tuo lume duplicato  
Guidi l'ingegno mio, e faccil tale,  
Che in particella alcuna dichiarato  
Per me appaia il ben dolce regno  
D'Amor. . . .

In the later passage of the *Filostrato* which Chaucer used through much of his proem, there is no invocation like this, only a stanza that might recall this (*Filos.* iii, stanza 86) and furnish a hint for similar composition. Of his lady Troilus says:

Se cento lingue, e ciascuna parlante  
Nella mia bocca fossero, e 'l sapere  
Nel petto avessi d'ogni poetante,  
Esprimer non potrei le virtù vere. . . .

There is reason to think, then, that as Chaucer wrote the speech which Pandarus made at the house of Deiphebus, appealing to Criseyde not to slay the young lover and not to waste time, he thought of Criseida's words with the allusion to the crown of her virtue and of Pandaro's reply. One may also suspect that the crown of virtue itself reminded the poet of the sort of crown which symbolizes chastity in the *Second Nun's Tale*, and that thus those other crowns of lilies and of roses flashed into the poet's mind long enough to suggest a reference to two crowns by way of emphasis.\*

\* The two crowns were no novelty in medieval symbolism. I have no reason here to go into the matter thoroughly but plenty of material has

But of course no one should suppose that the expression carried some sort of allusion to the episode in the saint's legend. The meaning itself may have been intended as nothing more than "By the virtue or power of all that a crown—nay, two crowns—may represent, do not slay this man!" The irony here of the thought of a crown of virtue or chastity and martyrdom is a little too heavy for Pandarus at this point, I think, even if it happened to occur to Chaucer. A salutary word of caution regarding the possibility of mere coincidence may be added by noticing that an allusion to roses and lilies is introduced in Guido's account of how Briseida lamented when she learned that she must be handed over to the Greeks.<sup>5</sup>

*Troilus and Criseyde* v, 638-641:

O sterre, of which I lost have al the light,  
With herte soore wel oughte I to biwaille,  
That evere derk in torment, nyght by nyght,  
Toward my deth with wynd in steere I saille.

These are some of the words which Troilus sings when he is bereft of his lady. The notes of Root and Robinson on this passage rely on Rossetti's theory: namely, that "the metaphor of a sea-voyage seems to have been suggested by a false reading of *Fil.* 5. 62, 'disii porto di morte,' I carry desires of death, which Chaucer apparently translated, 'I desire the harbor of death.'"<sup>6</sup> It may be so. But "porto," or perhaps the use of the star figure in *Filostrato* v, stanza 44 (after we have been told that songs were a vexation to the lover, we learn that each morning and evening he cries out with sighs, "O luce bella, o stella mattutina"), may well have reminded the poet of still another passage in the Italian poem. In *Filostrato* iv, stanza 143, Troilo speaking to Criseida of her departure says:

. . . o chiara stella,  
Per cui io vado al grazioso porto:  
Al qual prima ch' io vegna sarò morto.

Here we have the whole idea: the star, the port, and death, though

been offered by others: see *PMLA*. xxvi (1911), 315 ff.; xxix (1914), 129 ff.; xlII (1927), 1055 ff.; xlV (1930), 169 ff.; *MLN.* xli (1926), 317 f. They have a tradition of their own and were a recognized motif apart from the story of St. Cecilia.

<sup>5</sup> *Guido de Columnis, Historia Destructionis Troiae*, ed. N. E. Griffin, Cambridge, 1936 (Medieval Academy Publ. 26), p. 163.

<sup>6</sup> Root, *op. cit.*, p. 539. Cf. Robinson, *op. cit.*, 946.

with a difference in the allusion intended in "porto." A false reading of *Filostrato* v, stanza 62, may, it is true, have carried Chaucer's mind back to the other passage. But something of this material Boccaccio had presented elsewhere. The guiding light, as we have seen, is the subject of the invocation at the beginning of *Filostrato*, Book Three, and the gracious port and death are mentioned together in ii, stanza 132:

La vita mia di sollazzo mendica  
Tosto verrebbe al grazioso porto,  
Al qual prima ch' io vegna sarò morto.

The port itself and death appear in *Filostrato* i, stanza 54, which Chaucer used in *Troilus* i, 526-527:

Ed or foss' io pur venuto al porto  
Al qual la mia sventura sì mi mena,  
Questo mi saria grazia e gran conforto,  
Perchè morendo uscire' d' ogni pena.

And in this passage the port apparently represents death and not the lady. Whatever prompted him therefore to use the material in the lines in the *Troilus* which I have quoted, Chaucer could have found in his chief source the very words that would suggest the idea, indeed almost the exact equivalent of the figure. In the *Troilus* itself in i, 175, Criseyde makes him think of a star, and she is a guiding star (*lode-sterre*) in v, 232 and 1392.<sup>7</sup> A possible blunder regarding the use and meaning of "porto" in the *Filostrato*, therefore, is not required to explain the passage in question. In fact "lode-sterre" may have been derived from the lines in *Filostrato* iv, stanza 143, quoted above.

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<sup>7</sup> This could hardly be a borrowing from the poem printed by Skeat and called by him "Complaint to my Lode-sterre," (*Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, iv, Oxford, 1900, pp. xxix-xxxi; and see *Athenaeum*, 1894, ii, 162, where he called it "not unworthy of Chaucer.") It was rejected for Chaucer by Kittredge, *Nation*, LX (1895), 240; it was given up by Skeat, *The Chaucer Canon*, Oxford, 1900, 64; and it was not rescued by Brusendorff, *The Chaucer Tradition*, London and Copenhagen, 1925, 437, n. 4, who notes that Skeat omitted the last two stanzas. Carleton Brown and Rossell Robbins (*Index of Middle English Verse*, N. Y., 1943, 412, entry 2626), refer to it as "perhaps by Chaucer." The expression "lode-sterre" in these verses seems to be an echo of the *Troilus*. It is also used, however, in the *Knight's Tale*, A. 2059.

UNDETECTED VERSE IN MIRK'S *FESTIAL*

With the exception of the poem on the Seven Joys of the Blessed Virgin in Heaven, beginning "Be glad and blyþe, qwene of blys," other verses incorporated by John Mirk in his prose *Festial*<sup>1</sup> have been unnoticed by scholars and are not listed in the *Register* or *Index*, nor included in any collection of medieval poetry. Some of these scraps of undetected verse, printed as prose, occur at the beginning or at the end of a sermon, usually as a prayer that by its poetic form would be more easily remembered by the congregation. The collection of homilies in Ms. Gough Eccl. Top. 4, fol. 1<sup>a</sup> begins with four lines whose only claim to be considered as verse lies in the rimes:

God, maker of all þyng,  
Be at our begynnyng,  
And ȝif vs all his blesyng,  
And bryng vs all to a good endyng.

Amen. [page 1.]

The homily for Advent Sunday on the Fifteen Signs of Judgment ends with an exemplum from "Seynt Bede" of a sick man whose vision of hell led to his repentance. Mirk impresses the lesson on the people with the warning:

þus þay þat ben dampnet to hell,  
þay styntyn never to cry and ȝelle,  
'Woo ys hym þat þedyr schall goo.'  
God hymselfe scheld vs þerfro,  
And bryng vs to þe blys he boght vs to.

Amen. [page 5.]

In the sermon, *De Festo Sancti Thome Apostoli*, Mirk describes briefly the chief events and miracles in the life of the saint. Erbe edited the four lines of the prayer as verse, but the preceding sentence contains the same monorime:

Thus he preuet our fay  
And dude wondres yn his way,  
And gret myracles on his day.

<sup>1</sup> Mirk's *Festial*, ed. Theodor Erbe, Early English Text Society, E. S. xcvi. (London, 1905). All the quotations are from this volume, re-arranged by me from prose to verse forms.

Wherfor pray we to hym to make vs studfast yn our fay  
 And helpe vs yn oure long day,  
 And bryng vs þer as ys no nyght but euer day:  
 That ys þe joy þat lestyth ay.

Amen. [page 21.]

A prayer at the close of Sermon 9, *De Innocentibus*, shows the tortured construction to which Mirk resorted for the sake of his rime:

To þe wechc mercy God bryng you and me  
 þat for vs dyed on þe rode-tre.

Amen. [page 38.]

Mirk "enspyret" by God concludes Sermon 40, *De Festo Trinitatis*, with a more elaborate verse prayer:

A praye we now alle to the Holy Trynyte  
 That we may so worshipe here yn erthe yn vnyte,  
 That we may come ynto hys mageste  
 Where he ys veraye Gode yn persons thre.

Amen. [page 168.]

As Mirk customarily uses the preposition *to*, his choice of *tylle* in the sermon on the Nativity makes it evident that the homilist is aware of his proclivity for rime. He explains that Christ was born of Mary for three causes:

Forto ȝyue pes to men of good wyll,  
 Forto lyghten hom þat loken ill,  
 And forto draw men so wyth loue hym tylle.

[page 21.]

Many of these passages might be dismissed as rimed prose, although the versification is similar to the rimed couplets in Mirk's *Instructions for Parish Priests*. However, a unique verse dialogue in Sermon 53, *De Assumpcione Beate Marie*, follows a more definite pattern of metre and rime with phraseology reminiscent of the Song of Songs, as Christ addresses the body of His mother in these words:

Com, my swete, com my flour,  
 Com, my culuer, myn owne boure,  
 Com, my modyr, now wyth me;  
 For Heuyn qwene I make þe!

Then þe body sat up and lowted to Crist, and sayde:  
 My swete sonne, wyth al my loue,  
 I com wyth þe to þyn aboue;

Wher þou art now, let me be,  
For al my loue ys layde on þe."

[page 224.]

This dialogue is the only one in medieval English verse that is based on the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin and is worthy of being accorded recognition among the religious poetry of the fifteenth century.

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THE DATE OF JOHN HEYWOOD'S *THE SPIDER  
AND THE FLIE*

Heywood's *magnum opus* has been a constant source of bewilderment to readers attempting to pinpoint its allegorical referents. The confusion has arisen from these lines near the end of the poem:

I have, (good readers) this parable here pende:  
(After olde beginning) newly brought to ende.  
The thing, yeres mo then twentie since it begoon.  
To the thing: yeres mo then ninetene, nothing doon.  
The frewte was grene: I durst not gather it than,  
For feare of rotting: before riping began.<sup>1</sup>

The poem was published in 1556, and thus the poet presumably began the work about 1536. Two views based on this statement have been tentatively set forth as the keys to the allegory: Heywood was either writing about the Pilgrimage of Grace of 1536,<sup>2</sup> or he had begun by satirizing Wolsey's activities but was thwarted by the chief minister's death in 1530, and had allowed the manuscript to rest for nineteen years until the Rebellion of 1549 once again provided a historical situation which might be adapted to his allegory.<sup>3</sup> Both these approaches assume that the poet was stating

<sup>1</sup> John Heywood, *The Spider and the Flie*, ed. A. W. Ward, Spenser Society (Manchester, 1894), p. 450. All further references will be to this edition.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ward's introduction; Robert Bolwell, *The Life and Works of John Heywood* (New York, 1921), pp. 143-150; Alice Price, "The Spider and the Flie," unpublished Johns Hopkins University M. A. thesis (Baltimore, 1923).

<sup>3</sup> This latter view is best expressed in Jacob Haber's *The Spider and the*

a fact in the above lines, and consequently that the poem was totally obsolete when finally published. Furthermore, it has been asserted that, because of the years intervening between the beginning and conclusion, the poem lacks coherence and is not a unified whole.

But the only real justification for such interpretation is the poet's statement. When we look at the poem itself, we find that its allusions pertain more directly to circumstances at a period later than 1530 or 1536. In Chapter 60 the most important single clue to the dating of the spider-fly entanglement is found:

From the beginning: it is in booke to show.  
 When flies (against spiders) have thus rebelled,  
 They: either had miserable over throw:  
 In rebelling, or streight after refelled.  
 Namelie one: the which generallie swelled.  
 In flies against spiders, the time past six yeare,  
 Which one (were there no mo) showth this case cleare.  
 This time: sondrie. But chieflie, two flockes of flise,  
 For religion: with sum other thing to that,  
 One sort by east, an other by west: did rise.  
 Of opinion, contrarie: as fer and flat,  
 As in distance, ech far from other in plat,  
 Thone sort of both: to be in right faith elect.  
 All flies (faithfullie) did beleve or conject.  
 Those flies did much harme: six or eight weekes anoying:  
 Which time: spiders had small rest, and those flies lesse.  
 Spiders copwebs: went to wrack, by destroying:  
 And flies welth wasted: to begerie from richesse  
 Forestore lash out, in excreable excesse.  
 Frutes then growne, much lost for helpe to get them in.  
 How lookte flies here? to thend ere they did begin.  
 But what was the end of this? for soth even this.  
 The captayns, most hanged. Soldiers many slaine.  
 The rest (ought worth) geven in pracie for pilagis.  
 So that (to this daie,) they did fie on the gaine.  
 Thus were these two sortes: of opinions twaine,  
 On of the twaine: in the right way to be thought,  
 Both brought to one end, and both brought to nought.<sup>4</sup>

This passage is an accurate description of the Rebellion of 1549. Social conditions for the agrarian classes had been so oppressive

*Flie* (Berlin, 1900), and John Berdan's *Early Tudor Poetry* (New York, 1920), pp. 105-107.

<sup>4</sup> Pp. 267-268.

that revolt was imminent, but imposition of the 'new religion' had caused just as great resentment in some parts of England. The igniting spark was provided by the law which required that the Mass be read in English throughout the country ("for religion: with sum other thing to that"). There was bitter fighting in Yorkshire ("one sort by east"), and an army from Devonshire seriously threatened London before being defeated ("an other by west"). The actual hostilities lasted from July through August ("six or eight weekes"), which would be the harvest season ("frutes then growne, much lost for helpe to get them in").<sup>5</sup>

But the most important point about the passage is that the rebellion described is not in the immediate present, but occurred "the time past six yeare"; within the framework of the poem's dramatic action the speaker, the old fly, is using past history as an exemplar to caution the younger flies against the futility of rebellion. From this passage it would seem as if the actual setting of the poem is meant to be much closer to its publication date than Heywood would have us believe. The battle between the spiders and the flies which takes place in Chapter 66 represents neither the Pilgrimage of Grace nor the Rebellion of 1549, but an uprising nearer 1555. There are other instances within the poem where reference is made to contemporary rather than past history, as, for example, the undoubtedly conscious parallel both in content and tone between the chief spider's death speech and Northumberland's advice to his sons just before his execution for instigating the ill-fated *coup* of 1553.<sup>6</sup>

Why then did Heywood state that his poem was written many years earlier? In the sixteenth century, of course, it was common practice for the poet to disclaim his work as the folly of youth, thereby casting off any responsibility. But in this case there is a more pertinent reason for such action. In the first months of Mary's reign her counselors could not agree on policy; Froude

<sup>5</sup> The best accounts of this are found in Arthur Innes, *England Under the Tudors* (London, 1911), pp. 198-201, and James A. Froude, *History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Death of Elizabeth* (New York, 1870), IV, 165-207.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Heywood, pp. 426-433 and *Chronicles of Queen Jane, Two Years of Mary and Especially of the Rebellion of Sir Thomas Wyat*, ed. John Gough Nichols, Camden Society Pub. No. 48 (London 1850), pp. 6-22.

succinctly illustrates the situation.<sup>7</sup> Heywood's poem might easily irritate them because of the fact that the ills described there had not been cured. Indeed, in the cross-currents of advice, Mary had taken no steps to rectify conditions. Heywood was a prudent man, as his record as a Catholic at court throughout two anti-Catholic reigns indicates.<sup>8</sup> It would be politic to avoid making any direct reference to contemporary situations. The poet could easily veil his allegory, since the superficial details might well refer to a period twenty years removed.

If we allow the possibility that Heywood was not constructing a strictly historical allegory, but a dramatic presentation of social conditions and the lessons to be learned from history, then the spider-fly battle need not correspond to factual rebellions at all. The concept of rebellion had been so heavily emphasized that it was ideally suited to convey connotations of injustice, social inequality, and instability. Looking at the poem in this light, we find, not a lack of unity among parts as some critics have maintained, but a continuous dramatic portrayal of the failures of the law courts, the economic grievances of agricultural workers, and the lack of any real temporal or spiritual authority.<sup>9</sup> The conflict within the poem is resolved through the agency of the maid of the house, who brings order out of chaos. In the same manner, the poet is saying, Mary has the strength of character which will produce harmony in England. The conclusion of the work, in which the forthcoming marriage of Mary and Philip is celebrated, serves only as explicit recognition of what is implicit in the poem. The action builds up to and climaxes in the advent of Mary; the entire poem is a panegyric on the promise of her reign.

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<sup>7</sup> IV, 58.

<sup>8</sup> See Bolwell, pp. 18-41 for the details of his life in this period.

<sup>9</sup> Miss Price's study is mainly concerned with the legal background of the period. For the best account of social conditions see E. P. Cheyney, *Social Changes in England in the Sixteenth Century* (Philadelphia, 1895). For references in the poem to the problem of justice see esp. chapters 7-9, 14, 24, and 91; on social inequalities see chapters 24, 33, 44, 79, and 82; on authority see chapters 27, 38, 44, 88, and 95.

## ELIJAH AND ELISHA IN DRYDEN'S "MAC FLECKNOE"

For nearly a century and a half the last two couplets of Dryden's "Mac Flecknoe" have gone unannotated except for a short reference to the working of a trap door in *The Virtuoso*. Mr. G. R. Noyes partially made up for the oversight in his 1949 edition of Dryden's poems, but his reference leaves much to be added.

The lines contain three obvious clues to their source:

Sinking he left his drugget robe behind,  
Borne upwards by a subterranean wind.  
The mantle fell to the young prophet's part,  
With double portion of his father's art.

The mantle, prophet, and double portion are clearly related to the Elijah—Elisha story of II Kings, as any well-read Sunday School child should know, which makes the scholars' silence on the passage all the stranger. Mr. Noyes has sought to make up for the lack with the note: "v. 2 Kings ii. 12-15, where 'Elisha, dividing Jordan with Elijah's mantle, is acknowledged his successor.'" Noyes' quotation seems to come from Dr. Norman Oswald, whom the editor credits for help on this poem.

This note is not only incomplete but entirely misleading. To get the full effect of Dryden's satire, the reader must go back to the beginning of the second chapter, where "it came to pass, when the Lord would take up Elijah into heaven by a whirlwind, that Elijah went with Elisha from Gilgal." The heavenly motion of Elijah was to be replaced by motion in the other direction by Flecknoe, and the whirlwind replaced by "a subterranean wind." Then follows the series of testings of Elisha by Elijah and the young man's persistence in his obedience. He was a real "son" of the prophet. The key incident occurs in verse 9: "Elijah said unto Elisha, Ask what I shall do for thee, before I be taken away from thee, And Elisha said, I pray thee, *let a double portion of thy spirit be upon me.*" (Italics mine) The request is granted in verse 10, and in verse 11, "Elijah went up by a whirlwind into heaven." As I have said, Dryden, in typical mock-heroic style, changed directions and replaced the fiery chariot and horsemen with Bruce and Longvil. In verse 12 Elisha once again states his close

relationship with Elijah, "and he cried, My father, my father." In verse 13, Elijah "took the mantle of Elijah that fell from him," and in verse 15, "the sons of the prophets . . . said, The spirit of Elijah dost rest on Elisha." It is not the dividing of the Jordan, as Mr. Noyes states, which is important, however, in the inheriting of the mantle. It is the "double portion" of Elijah's spirit which led Elisha on to the accomplishing of twice as many miracles as Elijah had done. It is in the very greatness of the Elijah—Elisha relationship that Dryden finds the tool for making the Flecknoe—Shadwell relationship, as he creates it, ridiculous and small.

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A MANUFACTURED ANECDOTE IN GOLDSMITH'S  
*LIFE OF RICHARD NASH*

The extent of Oliver Goldsmith's indebtedness to other writers is commonplace knowledge; so, too, is the frequency with which he repeats himself. The combination of these two facts has led me to what I believe is a manufactured anecdote in his *Life of Richard Nash*. A little more than half of Goldsmith's essay "On Justice and Generosity" in *The Bee*, No. III, is a fairly literal translation of the Dutch author, Justus Van Effen's, essay *Le Misanthrope*, No. XXII. In the midst of this translation Goldsmith inserts two sentences which are not in the original:<sup>1</sup> "Lysippus is told that his banker asks a debt of forty pounds, and that a distressed acquaintance petitions for the same sum. He gives it without hesitating to the latter; for he demands as a favour what the former requires as a debt."<sup>2</sup> Some three years after this *Bee* essay *The Life of Richard Nash* was published (1762). This biography has served as the basis for later biographies of Nash although there is no way of checking the authenticity of Goldsmith's account. The following anecdote, quoted in full to show how Goldsmith

<sup>1</sup> Joseph E. Brown, "Goldsmith's Indebtedness to Voltaire and Justus Van Effen," *MP*, XXIII (February, 1926), 273-284.

<sup>2</sup> *The Works of Oliver Goldsmith*, ed. J. W. M. Gibbs, 5 vols. (London, 1908), II, 353. Subsequent references are to this edition.

probably wrote a biography as lengthy as this one with a paucity of materials, was in all likelihood an expansion of the idea expressed in the two sentences he inserted in the *Bee* essay quoted:

Another instance of his unaccountable generosity, and I shall proceed. In some transactions with one of his friends, Mr. Nash was brought in debtor twenty pounds. His friend frequently asked for the money, and was as often denied. He found at last that assiduity was likely to have no effect, and therefore contrived an honourable method of getting back his money without dissolving the friendship that subsisted between them. One day, returning from Nash's chamber with the usual assurance of being paid tomorrow, he went to one of their mutual acquaintances, and related the frequent disappointments he had received, and the little hopes he had of being ever paid. "My design," continues he, "is that you should go, and try to borrow twenty pounds from Nash, and bring me the money. I am apt to think he will lend to you, though he will not pay me. Perhaps we may extort from his generosity what I have failed to receive from his justice." His friend obeyed, and going to Mr. Nash, assured him, that unless relieved by his friendship, he should certainly be undone; he wanted to borrow twenty pounds, and had tried all his acquaintances without success. Mr. Nash, who had but some minutes before refused to pay a just debt, was in raptures at thus giving an instance of his friendship, and instantly lent what was required. Immediately upon the receipt, the pretended borrower goes to the real creditor, and gives him the money, who met Mr. Nash the day after. Our hero upon seeing him, immediately began his usual excuses, that the billiard-room had stripped him; that he was never so damnable out of cash; but that in a few days—. "My dear Sir, be under no uneasiness," replied the other, "I would not interrupt your tranquillity for the world; you lent twenty pounds yesterday to our friend of the back stairs, and he lent it to me; give him your receipt, and you shall have mine." "Perdition seize thee!" cried Nash, "thou hast been too many for me. You demanded a debt, he asked a favour: to pay thee would not increase our friendship, but lend him was procuring a new friend, by conferring a new obligation." (Gibbs, IV, 59-60).

One will immediately note the similarity between the *Bee's* "for he demands as a favour what the former requires as a debt" and the anecdote's "You demanded a debt, he asked a favour." I should suggest, therefore, that Goldsmith expanded a favored idea into a very neat anecdote and that other anecdotes in the *Life of Richard Nash* may be equally suspect. Goldsmith's information was scanty, and "notwithstanding the numerous stories told of this gentleman, some address was required to make out a respectable volume, the

facts communicated being few." <sup>3</sup> He relied therefore on his stock of ideas for material, and it would not be at all unlike him to have had himself in mind when he wrote the anecdote.

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### KEATS AND "THE SMITH AND THEODORE HOOK SQUAD"

Coleridge coined an apt and useful name for a once-famous group of wits: "The Smith and Theodore Hook Squad."<sup>1</sup> Besides James and Horace Smith and Theodore Hook, the members of the squad included Thomas Hill, Edward Du Bois, Horace Twiss, and Charles Mathews. From 1808 onwards they frequently assembled at the home in Sydenham of Tom Hill. In his *Autobiography* Leigh Hunt gives vivid sketches<sup>2</sup> of several of these men whom he sometimes joined: the jovial bachelor Hill, "plump and rosy as an abbot"; Du Bois, the scholar, his "handsome hawk's eyes" flashing with wit and malice when the raillery was set in motion; Hook, "then a youth tall, dark, and of a good person, with small eyes, and features more round than weak; a face that had character and humour, but no refinement." Hook would delight the group by extemporizing in verses that included epigrams and a line or so about all present. Mathews, on occasion, gave even better imitations of celebrities there than in the theater ("he was more at ease personally, more secure of his audience"), for he could show more private traits less suited for the stage. James Smith, a "fair, stout, fresh-coloured man, with round features," would read to them "trim verses with rhymes as pat as butter." Horace, his brother, manly and robust in figure and with a frank

<sup>1</sup> James Prior, *Life of Oliver Goldsmith* (2 vols.; London, 1837), I, 403.

<sup>2</sup> Upon seeing by accident a copy of the anonymous *Odes and Addresses to Great People* (1825), Coleridge in a letter to Lamb ascribed authorship to the latter and said that the book reminded him of *Rejected Addresses* "and all the Smith and Theodore Hook squad." The undated letter is quoted in *Memorials of Thomas Hood*, ed. Mrs. Frances F. Broderip and Thomas Hood, Jr. (2 vols.; Boston, 1860), I, 15-16.

<sup>3</sup> *The Autobiography of Leigh Hunt*, ed. J. E. Morpurgo (London, 1949), Chapter x, "Literary Acquaintance" [1809].

countenance "sweet without weakness," was "delicious." To him Hunt gives high praise: "A finer nature than Horace Smith's, except in the single instance of Shelley, I never met with in man."

To Keats, however, this group was somewhat less attractive. His letter<sup>3</sup> of December 21, 1817, to George and Thomas Keats contains an account of his reaction to the Smiths, Hill, Du Bois, and other men with whom he had recently dined:

They only served to convince me, how superior humour is to wit in respect to enjoyment—These man say things which make one start, without making one feel, they are all alike; their manners are alike; they know fashionables; they have a mannerism in their very eating and drinking, in their mere handling a Decanter—They talked of Kean and his low Company—Would I were with that Company instead of yours, said I to myself! I know such like acquaintance will never do for me. . . .

Theodore Hook excelled all others of the group at improvisation and wit designed to "make one start," and there are several accounts<sup>4</sup> which afford indisputable proof that his effusions were genuinely extempore. But his talent was so great that he was often said to have made thorough preparation before he performed. Horace Twiss, unhappily, was more enamored of the art of improvisation than he was proficient at executing it, and his bungling efforts drew down upon his head some stinging ripostes from those who heard him. One of these is referred to by R. H. Dalton Barham<sup>5</sup> as "the *lethalis arundo* of James Smith" which Twiss had long to endure. Dalton Barham does not quote Smith's poem, but his father "Ingoldsby" dictated a copy now in the Harvard College Library:

What charming extempore verses are Twiss's!  
Which he seemingly makes while he seemingly p—  
Twill puzzle his hearers the fact to unriddle  
Which comes from him slowest, his verse or his piddle,  
And t'even [?] harder to say, since so soon they're forgot,  
If his p— or his poetry first goes to pot.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> *The Letters of John Keats*, ed. M. B. Forman (Oxford University Press, 4th ed., 1952), pp. 70-71.

<sup>4</sup> See, for example, the comments by Horace Smith quoted in Arthur H. Beavan, *James and Horace Smith* (London, 1899), p. 223, and by Hunt, *Autobiography*, p. 184.

<sup>5</sup> *The Life and Letters of the Rev. Richard Harris Barham* (London, 1880), p. 68. Dalton Barham omits Twiss's name in the better known edition of the *Life* (2 vols., 1870), I, 103.

<sup>6</sup> MS. 51M-147. The lines are headed "By James Smith," and "From

In 1877 Edward F. Madden wrote an account<sup>7</sup> of his visit in Louisville, Kentucky, with Mrs. Philip Speed, one of the daughters of George Keats. Madden tells of having been allowed to see letters written by Keats and refers to one (not otherwise known) in which Keats mentions an evening at the Mermaid with Horace Twiss and Horace Smith. It was upon this occasion, Madden says, that Keats composed "Lines on the Mermaid Tavern."<sup>8</sup> The poet is quoted as saying: "Reynolds, Dilke, and others were pleased with this beyond anything I ever did."

"In this letter," Madden continues, "Keats alludes to the fondness of Twiss for repeating extempore verses—written, however, at home—and incloses a very clever take-off of him and his verses by Horace Smith."

Acceptance of the lines quoted above as those alluded to by Keats is tempting but conjectural. The poem Keats saw was written before February, 1818, as is shown by the reference to "Lines on the Mermaid Tavern." Barham dictated the poem on Twiss, if it is the same, years later, and may easily have confused its authorship.<sup>9</sup> The constant exchange of anecdotes, literary gossip, and *bons mots* among members of the squad made confusion, whether wilful or unintentional, inevitable. Barham, who had joined their ranks after 1821, protested in his diary<sup>10</sup> that some anecdotes, "like a great many other *bons mots*," had been attributed "very unfairly" to James Smith.

Whether written by James or Horace Smith and whether that alluded to by Keats or not, the lampoon of Horace Twiss makes clear a cryptic allusion in Dalton Barham's *Life* and affords us an amusing example of the caustic wit leveled at each other by members of the Smith and Hook squad.

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Barhams dictation" is appended. The paper was folded and addressed "To J[ohn] Hughes Esq."

<sup>7</sup> "The Poet Keats," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, LV (1877), 357-361.

<sup>8</sup> Keats copied the poem for Reynolds in a letter of February 3, 1818.

<sup>9</sup> John Hughes, to whom the poem is addressed, was the son of the Rev. Thomas Hughes, a canon of St. Paul's. Barham did not become acquainted with the Hughes family until 1821, when he came up from Kent to London to take the position of minor canon at the cathedral.

<sup>10</sup> *Life* (1870), I, 281.

## BYRON AND STERNE

Byron's familiarity with Sterne's works is attested by references in his letters, and the presence of the Shandean style in *Don Juan* has been described by Elizabeth Boyd;<sup>1</sup> but the direct influence of Slawkenbergius's tale (*Tristram Shandy*, vol. 4) on *Don Juan*, II, xviii-xx, seems not to have been pointed out. Like Juan, Slawkenbergius's Don Diego has been driven from his native Spain because of a love affair and is meditating on his forsaken Julia as he proceeds on his foreign journeys,

talking all the way he rode in broken sentences, sometimes to his mule—sometimes to himself—sometimes to his Julia.

O Julia, my lovely Julia!—nay I cannot stop to let thee bite that thistle—that ever the suspected tongue of a rival should have robbed me of enjoyment when I was upon the point of tasting it.—

—Pugh!—'tis nothing but a thistle—never mind it—thou shalt have a better supper at night.—

—Banish'd from my country—my friends—from thee.—

Poor devil, thou'rt sadly tired with thy journey!—come—get on a little faster—there's nothing in my cloak-bag but two shirts—a crimson-sattin pair of breeches, and a fringed—Dear Julia! . . .

—Come, thou shalt drink—to *St. Nicolas*—O Julia!—What dost thou prick up thy ears at?—'tis nothing but a man, &c.—

The stranger rode on communing in this manner with his mule and Julia. . . .

Prompted probably by the similarities between Diego's circumstances and those in which Juan had been placed, Byron set the style of Juan's apostrophe to Julia by borrowing Sterne's broken sentence structure and exaggerating his alternation between the tender and the low.

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<sup>1</sup> Byron's "Don Juan" (New Brunswick, 1945), pp. 54-56.

## AN UNKNOWN YEATS POEM

Mr. Allan Wade in his *Bibliography of the Writings of W. B. Yeats* (1951) noted a reference in the *Athenaeum* (May 8, 1897) to the fact that Yeats contributed in that year to a periodical, *Roma*; but Mr. Wade was unable to find the journal or to list Yeats's contribution to it. *Roma, Recueil Artistique International* (1897), a large, handsome folio, is of considerable interest because the contents, in half a dozen languages, consist of either original work or greetings to Italy from the major artists, musicians, and writers of Europe. The proceeds of the sale of *Roma* went to the Italian poor, and the motto or name of the sponsoring association, "Carità e Lavoro," appears on the title page. It seems unlikely from the nature of the free contributions that there were later issues of *Roma*.

Yeats's poem in *Roma*, never reprinted, refers apparently to Maud Gonne (Madame MacBride), who died recently in Dublin; and after more than half a century of oblivion, these sentimental lines have perhaps some biographical interest:

## THE GLOVE AND THE CLOAK

I saw her glitter and gleam,  
And stood in my sorrow apart,  
And said: "She has fooled me enough",  
And thought that she had no heart.  
  
I stood with her cloak on my arm,  
And said: "I will see her no more",  
When something folded and small  
Fell at my feet on the floor,—  
  
The little old glove of a child:  
I felt a sudden tear start,  
And murmured: "O long grey cloak,  
Keep hidden and covered her heart!"

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## AMES VS. COOPER: THE CASE RE-OPENED

Since Cooper published *The Pilot* in 1823 scholars and critics have praised him as the creator of realistic sea fiction. Recently, however, a discordant note has been sounded in the chorus of approval. Professor Charles Anderson has cited evidence from Nathaniel Ames's *A Mariner's Sketches* (1830) that sailors of Cooper's own day took a very dim view of his novels of the sea. In no uncertain terms Ames calls Cooper's nautical tales unrealistic, primarily because of the "silly language" of the characters. Anderson suggests that this testimony indicates "that the prevailing fashion in which Cooper wrote and which gained him wide popularity with the novel-reading public of his day was not shared by the non-literary common man," but he admits that Ames's criticism "is possibly colored by professional jealousy."<sup>1</sup>

These charges against Cooper are serious and, if valid, would force us to re-evaluate his position as a writer of sea stories. But are they valid? In determining this it would be well first, I think, to test the reliability of Ames's evidence, and then to move beyond personalities to examine the charges themselves.

About Nathaniel Ames (1796-1835) there is relatively little known beyond what he tells us in his three volumes of nautical sketches. A son of Fisher Ames, the Federalist statesman, he shared none of the family's prominence in American affairs. He left Harvard, where he was studying divinity, in his senior year (1815), running away from college and the family at Dedham to go to sea. What was at first a youthful frolic, however, soon became a matter of grim necessity, for his small supply of money dwindled away, and for years he was forced to ship aboard any vessel in need of an extra hand. By his own account, his career was, from almost any standpoint, totally unsuccessful. His voyages were poorly paid; he failed to rise from the ranks; he was apparently imprisoned for a while; he was confined for an extended period of time aboard a

<sup>1</sup> Charles Anderson, "Cooper's Sea Novels Spurned in the Maintop," *MLN*, LXVI (June, 1951), 388-391. He also points out a similar criticism of Cooper's realism in the sea novels, distinguishing between "nautical realism" and "literary realism," in James Grossman, *James Fenimore Cooper* (New York, 1949), pp. 238-239.

hospital ship. Settling finally in Providence, he was listed in the city directory for 1828 as a commission merchant. At about this same time, he began writing articles for *The Manufacturer's and Farmer's Journal*, a Providence newspaper to which he contributed regularly thereafter until his death. It was these articles from the *Journal* that he later collected for the bulk of the material in *A Mariner's Sketches* (1830), *Nautical Reminiscences* (1832), and *An Old Sailor's Yarns* (1835).<sup>2</sup>

It was not only in the first of these volumes that Ames loosed his spleen against Cooper and his novels of the sea. Each of his three full-length works has its tirade, and the successive attacks become more and more abusive. In *Nautical Reminiscences* he writes:

The immaculate Cooper, the "Walter Scott of America!" ("Credat Iudeus Apella, non ego," alas; poor America, how art thou fallen!) might "mend his kakelology" most amazingly by a month's sojourn aboard the *Grampus* [the hospital ship to which Ames had been confined for a lung inflammation], and fill his novels with something more in the shape of "regular built" sea language than the nonsensical gibberish that he now puts into the mouths of his sailors; but no better can be expected from one who came in at the cabin windows.<sup>3</sup>

By 1835 the tone has become more strident:

James Fenimore Cooper, Esq.—I give the man his entire name and title, as he seems to insist upon it upon all occasions—the "American Walter Scott," is indisputably at the very head of his *trade* at the present day for nautical descriptions; his terrestrial admirers have pronounced him "a practical seaman"; and, of course, the only man in these United States that can give any, even an approximate idea of the sea, and "those that go down in ships." I have at my pen's end six or eight very desperate "cases" of his knowledge of "practical seamanship" and maritime affairs, which may be found in "The Red Rover" and "Water Witch" *passim*; but these animals, vulgarly called critics, but more politely and properly at present, reviewers, whom the *New York Mirror* defines to be "great dogs that go about unchained and growl at every thing they do not comprehend," these dogs have dragged the lion's hide partly off, and ascertained, what every man, to whom the Almighty had vouchsafed an ordinary share of common sense, had all along suspected, that it covered an ass.<sup>4</sup>

In this last work, *An Old Sailor's Yarns*, Ames, abandoning all

<sup>2</sup> See Warren S. Walker, "A Note on Nathaniel Ames," *AL*, xxvi (May, 1954), 239-241.

<sup>3</sup> Nathaniel Ames, *Nautical Reminiscences* (Providence, 1832), pp. 25-26.

<sup>4</sup> Nathaniel Ames, *An Old Sailor's Yarns* (Providence, 1835), pp. 372-373.

consistency, blasts Cooper thus for his supposedly *unrealistic* picture of life at sea, and then, facing about, attacks him with equal fervor for the very *real* characters throughout his fiction:

Our own dear, darling Cooper, the American Walter Scott, has held up for admiration and imitation sundry cut-throats, hangmen, pirates, thieves, squatters, and other scoundrels of different degrees, showing his partiality and fellow-feeling for the kennel; and, if he had not at last, as we say at sea, "blown his blast and given the devil his horn," would have managed to set the whole female portion of the romance-reading community to whimpering and blowing their noses over the sorrows of Tardee and Gibbs—the wholesale pirates and murderers—the loves of Mina—the poisoner—the trials of Malbone Briggs—the counterfeiter—or the buffettings in the flesh that Satan was permitted to bestow upon the old Adam of that god-fearing saint, Ephraim K. Avery.<sup>8</sup>

What might have been a telling criticism in *A Mariner's Sketches* loses its force when viewed in the light of these succeeding attacks by Ames. Whether it was jealousy, as Anderson suggests, or something else that animated such invective, we do not know for certain. But what does become quite apparent, I think, is that Ames's attitude toward Cooper is far from being objective. It is, in short, so highly charged with emotion that it must, in the final analysis, invalidate most of his testimony.

But what of the charges themselves? Regardless of Ames's opinions, *are* the novels quite unrealistic from a nautical point of view? And *is* the language, particularly in the dialogue, utterly fantastic? Only authorities on maritime affairs are competent to answer the first of these questions, and they, when they have spoken, have vouched for the authenticity of Cooper's work. The question concerning language—and it was Cooper's language which most irritated Ames—can more readily be considered by literary scholars.

Had Ames's attacks been directed at the *structure* of the dialogue rather than at its language, they would have been more justifiable. Certainly the style of the conversation, especially that of the romantic leads, is often stilted and artificial in the mode of much contemporary fiction. The *diction* of most of the characters, on the other hand, is quite appropriate to their respective roles, and if, in his effort to create the beau ideal of the American seaman, Cooper exaggerated slightly the saltiness of his characters' speech,

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 187-188.

he was not, on the whole, guilty of the gross distortion imputed by Ames.

By 1830, the year of *A Mariner's Sketches*, Cooper had published only two novels of the sea, *The Pilot* (1823) and *The Red Rover* (1828). In these two novels author and characters together use 234 terms which are technical and beyond the recognition, I think, of the average landsman. (These do not, of course, include such words as "ship," "anchor," "surf," "tide," or other equally everyday nouns.) A preponderant majority of these technical expressions can be shown to be accepted pieces of nautical jargon, for 218 (93%) of them appear in one or both of the two standard marine dictionaries of Cooper's period.<sup>6</sup> There can be little doubt, then, that aboard ship the terminology of Cooper's crew is usually fitting. But if this same terminology appears ashore, is it then "disgusting" and "absurd"? In 1830 was it accurate to say flatly that, "Sailors do not (except when describing some nautical transaction) converse in technical terms any more than lawyers and physicians . . ."? The answer to both of these questions would clearly seem to be No.

In the days of hemp and oakum seamen lived long months in a world apart, and when occasionally they returned to land they bore upon them indelible marks of the deep. Cooper, in describing his first voyage, for example, notes how easily British press gangs could pick experienced seamen out of London crowds. On that trip even the American captain, booted and dressed like a visiting squire, was unable to conceal his nautical profession and was promptly seized. "Them press-gang chaps smelt the tar in his very boots," the mate was later to observe.<sup>7</sup> And the language of grounded mariners was no less distinctive than were their bearing and manner.

There is also ample evidence of their salty diction in sources other than those of prose fiction. Edward Myers, a retired seaman, wrote in 1843 to Cooper, his old messmate:

You mentioned that we had sailed on different tacks, which is a fact, yours being a smooth sea, and a fair wind, while mine has been nothing but head gales, a head beat sea, spilt sails and spars carried away, and at last condemned as unseaworthy. I, however, have a pretty snug harbor to spend the last of my days in . . .

<sup>6</sup> William Falconer, *A New Universal Dictionary of the Marine*, 2nd ed. (London, 1815), and W. H. Smyth, *The Sailor's Word-Book* (London, 1867).

<sup>7</sup> Grossman, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

I think . . . I have at last got on the right tack, making my bible my only chart to steer by.<sup>8</sup>

Nathaniel Ames himself unwittingly reports many instances of this very kind of nautical language out of proper context for which he ridiculed Cooper.<sup>9</sup>

That sea terms in the nineteenth century were transferred frequently from ship to shore can be substantiated by even more immediate evidence than that provided by literary sources: Along the New England coast countless nauticalisms can still be heard.<sup>10</sup> And nautical terminology, far from being confined to coastal dialects, has made a significant contribution to the American language in general. Such colloquial expressions as "back and fill," "cast about," "chock full," "hard up," "pipe down," and "taken aback" are only a few of the several hundred common terms that stem from sea lingo.<sup>11</sup> It appears obvious from this that sailors, both active

<sup>8</sup> *Correspondence of James Fenimore Cooper*, ed. by his grandson, James Fenimore Cooper (New Haven, 1922), pp. 495-496.

<sup>9</sup> See *A Mariner's Sketches*, pp. 242, 245, 286, 308-309; also *An Old Sailor's Yarns*, pp. 32, 57.

<sup>10</sup> Of the natives of Nantucket it has been said: "They never pull, they always 'haul'; they do not tie or fasten anything, they 'splice' or 'belay' it; they do not arrange a thing, they 'rig' it; they do not throw anything away, but 'heave it overboard'; they 'back and fill,' they 'luff,' 'tack,' 'come about,' and 'square away' on any and all occasions. Before engaging in any venture they first 'see if the coast is clear,' then, as they proceed, they 'keep the weather eye peeled' and always 'look out for squalls.' Then they 'sound it out' until they 'fathom' it. If they don't like the 'lay of the land,' they 'give it a wide berth.' To be prudent is 'to keep an eye to windward,' but to be overprudent to the point of timidity is to be 'always reefed down and standing on the inshore tack.' To be reckless and take too many chances is to 'sail too close to the wind,' and to be caught off one's guard is to be 'taken aback,' meaning to catch the wind on the wrong side of the sails—an exasperating and sometimes perilous experience for a mariner. Anything put by for a rainy day, or any provision against adversity or disaster is 'an anchor to windward,' while to be gay or foolish is to 'carry on' as an inexperienced or reckless navigator may carry on (sail). A telling rebuke of extravagance is the phrase 'two lamps burning and no ship at sea.' To overcome or to best an opponent is to 'take the wind out of his sails.' To be ready for anything is to be 'always on deck,' and so on *ad infinitum*."—William F. Macy, *The Nantucket Scrap Basket*, 2nd ed. (Boston, 1930), p. 6. (Used with permission of Houghton Mifflin Company).

<sup>11</sup> See Joanna Carver Colcord, *Sea Language Comes Ashore* (New York,

and retired, *did* converse in technical terms far more often than when they were "describing some nautical transaction."

The claim that Cooper's sea stories were "spurned in the maintop" (and thus, by implication, were unrealistic) is not borne out by the evidence adduced. What might have been damning testimony in *A Mariner's Sketches* loses most of its value when seen as part of Ames's chronic vituperation of Cooper. More reliable data must be provided if it is to be demonstrated that Cooper's nautical tales lack the authenticity that a century of criticism has attributed to them.

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#### EMERSON'S POEM "PAN"

A general passage (February 20, 1824) on indwelling divinity cited by the editors of Emerson's journals as the source of "Pan" lacks close relationship to the poem.<sup>1</sup> A more likely origin is a passage occurring in his journal on February 6, 1825, after Emerson had heard a rumor (later proved false) about the death of Henry Clay in a duel:<sup>2</sup>

That ancient doctrine that a human soul is but a larger or less emanation from the Infinite soul is so agreeable to our imagination that something like this has always been a cherished part of the popular belief. . . . Man is but the poor organ through which the breath of Him is blown; a pipe on which stops are sounded of strange music.<sup>3</sup>

1945); George Chase, *Sea Terms Come Ashore*, University of Maine Studies, Second Series, No. 56 (Orono, Maine, 1942); B. A. Botkin, *A Treasury of New England Folklore* (New York, 1947), pp. 807-816; George S. Wasson, "Our Heritage of Old Sea Terms," *American Speech*, IV (June, 1929), 377-384.

Very few nautical expressions were actually *created* at sea. Most of them were once ordinary English words, primarily of Teutonic origin, that acquired special meanings as they were used on shipboard. It is these salt-water adaptations to which reference is here made.

<sup>1</sup> *The Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed. Edward Waldo Emerson and Waldo Emerson Forbes (Boston, 1909-14), I, 346.

<sup>2</sup> Although Clay is not mentioned in "Pan," Emerson's hostility toward him may be reflected in the image of the "eternal wave" as sweeping through even those who lie like white "hollow shells upon the desert shore."

<sup>3</sup> *Journals*, II, 53-54.

Not only does this entry contain a clear statement of the "ancient doctrine" of divine emanation, but other factors point to its relationship with "Pan." The sentence "Man is but the poor organ through which the breath of Him is blown; a pipe on which stops are sounded of strange music" parallels closely the first lines of "Pan":

O what are heroes, prophets, men,  
But pipes through which the breath of Pan doth blow  
A momentary music.<sup>4</sup>

Furthermore, the reference to an organ and a pipe probably led Emerson to associate the divine afflatus with Pan, and thus gave him both the mythology and the central metaphor of the poem.<sup>5</sup> Composition of the piece, therefore, probably did not occur before February, 1825.

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#### A NOTE ON HAWTHORNE'S FATALISM

The controversy concerning Hawthorne's fatalism may well be stirred up again by the appearance of Richard Fogle's *Hawthorne's Fiction: The Light and the Dark*. The point is made that "ambiguity" solves most of the problems concerned with evaluating the philosophy of Hawthorne's fiction.<sup>1</sup> Fogle's point, that Hawthorne withholds judgment, will satisfy neither those who have accused

<sup>4</sup> *The Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed. Edward Waldo Emerson (Boston, 1903-04), IX, 360. "Pan" was never published during Emerson's lifetime but was included in the 1883 edition of his works.

<sup>5</sup> In the second line Emerson originally wrote "the breath of God"—cf. "breath of Him" in the journal entry. Later he decided to use the classical image—see *ibid.*, IX, 511. In *The Natural History of the Intellect* (*ibid.*, XII, 36), published posthumously in 1893, Emerson said of Pan: "He could intoxicate by the strain of his shepherd's pipe,—silent yet to most, for his pipes make the music of the spheres, which, because it sounds eternally, is not heard at all by the dull, but only by the mind." For Emerson's derivation of the myth of Pan from Cudworth's *The True Intellectual System of the Universe*, see John S. Harrison, *The Teachers of Emerson* (New York, 1910), pp. 251-55.

<sup>1</sup> (Norman, Oklahoma, 1952), pp. 3-14, *et passim*.

him of being a fatalist nor the few who have stressed his rejection of the principles of Calvinism. It is curious that the large amount of evidence that has been collected in the past to substantiate or reject Hawthorne's fatalism has never included a pointed review of his education. This could be a reliable starting point in trying to determine Hawthorne's *readiness* to accept or reject the philosophy of fatality that he was supposed to have inherited along with his ancestral Puritanism. Certainly, it is legitimate to study the education of any artist as at least one factor in the formation of his attitudes as a writer.

Hawthorne's education did not take on a formal character until he entered college. Handicapped by a crippled foot, he received most of his education at home. It is significant that he was not subjected to the rigors of the contemporary preparatory school. Horace Mann, a contemporary of Hawthorne's, describes in moving detail "the doctrines of total depravity, election, and reprobation" which were taught to the students; "shutting out," he adds, "every beautiful and glorious thing."<sup>2</sup> Hawthorne was spared this kind of indoctrination. Instead, his sister Elizabeth tells us, "We always had plenty of books, and our minds and sensibilities were not unduly stimulated."<sup>3</sup> Thus, as a boy Hawthorne escaped the Calvinistic emphasis on fatality common to the schools of his day.

The generosity of an Uncle made it possible for Hawthorne to secure his college education at Bowdoin, which was still under the influence of fatalistic orthodoxy. The president, Allen, was determinedly orthodox. But the students were not, and their rebellion was vigorous. We do not know for certain that Hawthorne was present when the Calvinistic preacher was hanged in effigy, when the Fast Day services were boycotted, and when bonfires and fireworks gave evidence of the students' protest against old-line Calvinism.<sup>4</sup> We cannot be sure that he was interested in the Unitarian Society which Longfellow tried to organize on the Campus. But these are indications from his environment of the growing protest against the orthodoxy of fatalism. We do know, however, that Hawthorne refused to attend chapel services.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Cantwell, *Nathaniel Hawthorne: The American Years* (New York, 1948), pp. 89-90.

<sup>3</sup> Julian Hawthorne, *Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife* (Boston, 1884), I, 99.

<sup>4</sup> Cantwell, p. 60.

This atmosphere of rebellion against the fatalism of orthodoxy was re-enforced by some of the subjects that Hawthorne studied. It can be said with certainty that the only formal philosophical method he was trained in repudiated the Calvinistic denial of man's free will and its consequent fatalism. One of Hawthorne's professors was Thomas C. Upham, a leader in popularizing the theories of Tri-Faculty psychology and the author of numerous textbooks. Professor Upham was forceful in presenting his belief in the freedom of the will:

A normal or, right will may, of course, be expected to have power enough to secure the great objects for which the Will obviously exists, viz., the exercise of a supervisory control upon the other parts of the mind, as well as upon the body.<sup>5</sup>

Hawthorne's closest friend, Bridge, when writing of their undergraduate days at Bowdoin, gives us an affectionate picture of this "much beloved" teacher.<sup>6</sup> More than this, Hawthorne was acquainted with the philosophy of Dugald Stewart, the core around which the philosophy courses at Bowdoin were organized. Thus, we know for certain that Hawthorne was educated to believe in the freedom of the will; for Stewart taught that man was a free agent, not determined by fatality. Here are two key passages from his work:

All the foregoing inquiries concerning the moral constitution of man proceed on the supposition, that he has freedom of choice between good and evil, and that, when he deliberately performs an action which he knows to be wrong, he renders himself justly obnoxious to punishment. That this supposition is agreeable to the common apprehensions of mankind will not be disputed. . . .

Our own free will we know by our consciousness; and we can have no evidence for any other truth so irresistible as this.<sup>7</sup>

It would take a longer note than this one to point out the many instances in which Hawthorne uses with familiarity the terms of the new Tri-Faculty psychology which was at war with the old

<sup>5</sup> *Outlines of Disordered Mental Action* (New York, 1840), p. 386; and see pp. 40, 388, 397.

<sup>6</sup> Horatio Bridge, *Personal Recollections of Nathaniel Hawthorne* (New York, 1893), p. 53.

<sup>7</sup> *The Philosophy of the Active and Moral Powers of Man*, ed. James Walker (Philadelphia, 1873), p. 268 and p. 322.

fatalistic concepts of Calvinism. All that I have tried to suggest is that the influence of Hawthorne's early education did not encourage in any positive fashion his acceptance of orthodoxy. His college education, moreover, positively discouraged such a belief. The influences of his professor of Philosophy, Upham, and the chief figure in his study of philosophy, Stewart, would seem to suggest that he was not prepared to accept a belief in fatality. Indeed, much other evidence joined with this may indicate that he flatly rejected it. The use of ambiguity on this point in his fictions is therefore, presumably, a literary device rather than a revelation of his personal philosophy.

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#### THE MEANING OF THE MATCH IMAGE IN JAMES'S *THE AMBASSADORS*

A descriptive image employed by Henry James in Part Eighth of *The Ambassadors* may serve to explain a mystery which provides an element of suspense in the novel: the mystery as to the nature of Woollett's chief product of manufacture.

In Chapter iv (Part Second), Strether has aroused the curiosity of Maria Gostrey in this respect, and describes the product to her as "a small, trivial, rather ridiculous object of the commonest domestic use . . .," lacking in "dignity, or the least approach to distinction." When Maria attempts to identify the object as clothespins, saleratus, or shoe-polish, Strether replies: "No—you don't even *burn*. I don't think, you know, you'll guess it."

During his final interview with Miss Gostrey, before returning to America (Part Twelfth, Chapter xxxvi), Strether offers to end the mystery, but by this time Maria is no longer interested in the products of Woollett. The reader is never satisfied as to what James had in mind. But an image which appears in Chapter xx (Part Eighth) might indicate the author's answer, when it is considered in relation to Strether's conversation with Miss Gostrey, above. When Sarah Pocock, whom we recognize as almost a symbol of Woollett, arrives in Paris, Strether's thoughts upon seeing her

again include a description of "her marked, thin-lipped smile, intense without brightness and as prompt to act as the scrape of a *safety-match*." (The italics are mine in both quotations.) Could this, then, be the "small, trivial, rather ridiculous object"? If so, why was James so reluctant to name it directly?

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### CRANE REPORTS GARLAND ON HOWELLS

While Stephen Crane's reporting of a lecture by Hamlin Garland at Avon-by-the-Sea in the summer of 1891 has frequently been noted, the report itself has never been reprinted or critically examined.<sup>1</sup> At the time of the lecture Garland was an advocate of impressionism in painting and literature and was formulating and writing the essays which would comprise *Crumbling Idols* (1894).<sup>2</sup> Crane, still in his literary apprenticeship, had been aiding his brother report New Jersey shore news, and when Garland gave his course of "Lecture-Studies in American Literature and Expressive Art" at the Seaside Assembly, he attended a lecture. His report, vouched for by Garland for its "correctness,"<sup>3</sup> appeared in the *New York Tribune* the following day. It reads:

#### HOWELLS DISCUSSED AT AVON-BY-THE-SEA.

Avon-by-the-Sea, Aug. 17 (Special).—At the Seaside Assembly the morning lecture was delivered by Professor Hamlin [sic] Garland, of Boston, on W. D. Howells, the novelist. He said: "No man stands for a more vital principle than does Mr. Howells. He stands for modern-spirit, sympathy and truth. He believes in the progress of ideals, the relative in art. His definition of idealism cannot be improved upon, 'the truthful treatment of material.'<sup>4</sup> He does not insist upon any special material, but only that

<sup>1</sup> It is not listed in any of the numerous Crane bibliographies. However, John Berryman, in *Stephen Crane* (New York, 1950), p. 28, prints three sentences, those mentioning Howells' novels specifically.

<sup>2</sup> He wrote some time in 1891: "I am an impressionist, perhaps, rather than a realist. I believe, with Monet, that the artist should be self-centered, and should paint life as he sees it"—letter, published by E. F. Harkins, *Famous Authors (Men)* (Boston, 1901), p. 259.

<sup>3</sup> *Roadside Meetings* (New York, 1930), p. 189.

<sup>4</sup> A misprint, misquote by Crane, or misuse by Garland of Howells'

the novelist be true to himself and to things as he sees them. It is absurd to call him photographic. The photograph is false in perspective, in light and shade, in focus. When a photograph can depict atmosphere and sound, the comparison will have some meaning, and then it will not be used as a reproach. Mr. Howells' work has deepened in insight and widened in sympathy from the first. His canvas has grown large, and has thickened with figures. Between 'Their Wedding Journey' and 'A Hazard of New Fortunes' there is an immense distance. 'A Modern Instance' is the greatest, most rigidly artistic novel ever written by an American, and ranks with the great novels of the world. 'A Hazard of New Fortunes' is the greatest, sanest, truest study of a city in fiction. The test of the value of Mr. Howells' work will come fifty years from now, when his sheaf of novels will form the most accurate, sympathetic and artistic study of American society yet made by an American. Howells is a many-sided man, a humorist of astonishing delicacy and imagination, and he has written of late some powerful poems in a full, free style. He is by all odds the most American and vital of our literary men to-day. He stands for all that is progressive and humanitarian in our fiction, and his following increases each day. His success is very great, and it will last."<sup>5</sup>

Of great interest is Crane's paralleling, in the few critical remarks we have record of, Garland's conception of Howells' literary beliefs. This is particularly evident in two letters. In 1896 he wrote: "I had no other purpose in writing 'Maggie' than to show people to people as they seem to me. If that be evil, make the most of it."<sup>6</sup> While in 1898 he elaborated: ". . . I understand that a man is born into the world with his own pair of eyes, and he is not at all responsible for his vision—he is merely responsible for his quality of personal honesty."<sup>7</sup>

Crane's "readjustment of his point of view [which he] victoriously concluded some time in 1892"<sup>8</sup> was prepared for, then, by his contact with Garland's interpretation of Howells in the

famous definition of *realism* (not *idealism*) which appeared in *Criticism and Fiction* (New York, 1891), p. 73, published in May, and *Harper's Monthly*, LXXIX (Nov., 1889), 966.

<sup>5</sup> *New York Daily Tribune*, Aug. 18, 1891, p. 5.

<sup>6</sup> Letter to Miss Catherine Harris, Nov. 12, 1896. Published in *Stephen Crane: An Omnibus*, ed. R. W. Stallman (New York, 1952), p. 656.

<sup>7</sup> Letter to Joseph O'Connor. Published in *Stephen Crane: An Omnibus*, p. 680.

<sup>8</sup> From Crane's inscription to Howells in a copy of *The Red Badge of Courage*, dated Aug. 17, 1895. Published in *Stephen Crane: An Omnibus*, p. 620.

summer of 1891. His acceptance of the critical theories of Garland and Howells which emphasize personal honesty and vision seems to have been his initial step towards this triumphant conclusion.

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### WHY DID RABELAIS SATIRIZE THE LIBRARY OF SAINT-VICTOR?

The barbed jests that Rabelais directed at the theological and scholastic holdings of the ancient and reputed monastery (*Pantagruel*, Ch. vii) have long attracted attention.<sup>1</sup> For Abel Lefranc<sup>2</sup> the reason lies in the fact that it was a famous place, with a collection famous in its days (and subsequently, for that matter), secondly, "La querelle des théologiens de Cologne contre Reuchlin, les démêlés de la Sorbonne avec les humanistes ont leur écho dans cet épisode." There is no quarrel with this analysis, except possibly that it does not reach far enough. Rabelais was extremely precise, whether in his treatment of war (cf. the Pichrocholine campaign) or the feminist controversy, shown in his use of the *De legibus* of Tiraqueau, one of the most popular of legal treatises of the time, as the notarial inventories attest. We can be assured that when our author attacks something, he has almost a personal stake in it.

Let us apply his tactics to the library in question. His contemporaries understood the humor attached to pedantic or clumsy titles, real enough at the time. *Les allumettes du feu divin*, for instance, is a real title in a real inventory.<sup>3</sup> That very reference, however, shows that the same kind of jokes could be made about many a sixteenth century collection, public or private, and did not have to concern any particular one. In fact, Saint-Victor, with all its mediaeval contents, was in some respects less vulnerable than certain others, because its humanistic holdings, e. g. Greek MSS, were considerable.

<sup>1</sup> Le Bibliophile Jacob (Paul Lacroix), *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Saint-Victor au seizième siècle*. Paris, 1862.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. *Oeuvres de Rabelais*, III, 72.

<sup>3</sup> Paris, Minutier Central, Etude III, Liasse 300.

It cannot, on that score alone, be considered the kind of specific target that Rabelais habitually selected.

Lefranc rightly points out that this was an "arsenal" of theology, but he does not pursue his very apt image. We are, in fact, not dealing with a quiescent accumulation of weighty tomes, but, on the contrary, with the live ammunition for a fierce battle in which Rabelais was personally and directly interested. If he was not fond of the books in many an instance, he had a more special grudge against the monks, their owners, for the rôle they had played and were still playing in that battle. That fight was a phase of the humanist-Sorbonne dispute, but a phase that concerned Saint-Victor alone. Its history in the midst of early sixteenth century events is what aroused the anger of Rabelais. It is this history which I now recapitulate.<sup>4</sup>

The Hundred Year's War had left the abbey in a bad state, materially and morally, in which it was by no means unique. A reform was called for, which operated out of the Dutch headquarters of the order at Windesheim, under the leadership of Standonck and Mombaer. The rigoristic procedures of these foreigners aroused personal resentment plus the old Gallican hostility of the Parisian monks. It would not seem that humanism had much to fear; a leader of the second Windesheim mission of 1497 (Renaudet, p. 289) was Corneille Gérard, who had studied in Italy and was a friend of Erasmus. The latter even went so far as to express his dissatisfaction that Saint-Victor and Montaigu both had been recalcitrant to the good offices of Gérard's delegation. The first decade of the sixteenth century saw a greater number of disputes between the Parisians and their would-be reformers intensified by the medicants and continual Gallicanism. It is around this period that Claude de Grandrue reorganized the library and drew up its well-known catalogue (*op. cit.*, 560). But if the library prospered, the community itself was in a hopelessly unhappy condition, as was Montaigu, the old quarrels accentuated by a rift between theologians and humanists (Renaudet, p. 596). No stranger to the disputes was the theologian Tateret (p. 647), upon whom Rabelais poured

<sup>4</sup> A. Renaudet, *Préréforme et humanisme* (Paris, 1916), furnishes the essential facts, although these are widely scattered, and although he does not make the connection that exists between the library and the satire to which it gave rise.

most uninhibited ridicule in his catalogue. Saint-Victor did not fall into Tateret's orbit, but did finally take refuge in the "idéal mortifié des Windesheimiens" (*ibid.* 700) to such an extent that Erasmus became disinterested in Paris and left for Oxford, where he was enthusiastically received. It should be said that some orders, like the Benedictines, were more generous to the humanists at this period, particularly at Saint-Germain. There can be no surprise that Rabelais preferred that order to his régime at Fontenay-le-Comte.

Ultimately there was a definite split which led to the Reformation. The details are well known, of course, but one may well stress the observation of Renaudet (p. 703): "Sauf de rares exceptions les réguliers de tous les ordres mettront leurs forces au service de l'orthodoxie la plus étroite. Maillard et Raulin, Bourgoing et Standonck auront préparé d'avance l'armée de la Contre-Réforme." The last of these names is especially to be noted, for it was to him that the road taken by Saint-Victor is primarily due.

It was the failure of Saint-Victor to live up to earlier expectations which had hurt Erasmus and which angered Rabelais. During the years 1520-21, the latter had himself been in the midst of a situation among the Franciscans, where his pursuit of the humanities was seriously interfered with and he had to look for a way out. In the year of the *Pantagruel*, 1532, such matters, as they affected the religious orders, were very much in the air.

To resume briefly: Ridicule of pedantic books, present in a large library, is not peculiar to Saint-Victor, neither is the Sorbonne-humanist quarrel nor the hostility to the theological writings. What is peculiar to it is the history of the reform movements with the promise it held forth to the generation of Erasmians to which Rabelais belonged. The hoped-for success of humanism ended in disillusionment for Erasmus and those devoted to his ideals and interests. Rabelais, situated as he was in the early 20's, had personal tie-ups with the pressures that drove Saint-Victor away from humanism. Hence his anger, of which the library became the symbol.

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## THE INFLUENCE OF SAINT-MARTIN ON LAMARTINE

"Comme vous, j'ai toujours soupçonné Saint-Martin d'avoir été éclairé d'un beau rayon de vérité divine . . .",<sup>1</sup> remarked Lamartine in a letter of 1832, where he referred to Louis-Claude de Saint-Martin, the *philosophe inconnu*. The latter, a leading theosophist of the eighteenth century, had rejected the authority of the Church, and still opposed the rationalists by claiming a natural, mystical experience for man.<sup>2</sup>

Sainte-Beuve abruptly dismissed the possibility of Lamartine's acquaintance with the *philosophe inconnu*, "Saint-Martin n'aura jamais été probablement de sa bien étroite connaissance . . .",<sup>3</sup> but overlooked one apparent source.

In 1815, while in Italy, Lamartine visited a friend, Louis de Vignet, a nephew of Joseph de Maistre. There, the poet met his distinguished contemporary and exchanged views on various literary matters.<sup>4</sup> Maistre probably would not have discussed such affairs with Lamartine without mentioning Saint-Martin, whom he had praised as "le plus élégant des théosophes modernes"<sup>5</sup> and always regarded as a true mystic.<sup>6</sup> In 1819 the bond between them was strengthened by the marriage of the poet's sister to Xavier de Vignet, the brother of Louis.<sup>7</sup>

The poet's close association with Maistre in the period prior to the publication of the *Premières Méditations* may explain the presence of Martinism in the work. One reads in *La Prière* a passage of a perceptibly Martinist flavor:

<sup>1</sup> Lamartine, *Correspondance*, ed. Levaillant (Paris: Droz, 1943), I, 362.

<sup>2</sup> See E. M. Caro, *Essai sur la vie et la doctrine de Saint-Martin* (Paris: Hachette, 1852); A. Franck, *La philosophie mystique en France* (Paris: G. Bailliére, 1866); M. Matter, *Saint-Martin* (Paris: Didier, 1862); Robert Amadou, *Louis-Claude de Saint-Martin et le Martinisme* (Paris: Griffon d'or, 1946).

<sup>3</sup> Sainte-Beuve, *Portraits Contemporains* (Paris: Didier, 1847), I, 199-200.

<sup>4</sup> Lamartine, *Mémoires Politiques* (Paris, chez l'auteur, 1863), I, 42.

<sup>5</sup> Joseph de Maistre, *Soirées de Saint-Petersbourg* (Paris: Garnier, n. d.), II, 234-235.

<sup>6</sup> Emile Dermenghem discusses this question at length in his *Joseph de Maistre, mystique* (Paris: La Colombe, 1946), pp. 44-48.

<sup>7</sup> Léon Séché, "Le Mariage de Lamartine," *Annales Romantiques* (1908), pp. 326-332.

Voilà le sacrifice immense, universel!  
 L'univers est le temple, et la terre est l'autel:  
 Les cieux en sont le dôme: et ces astres sans nombre,  
 Ces feux demi-voilés, pâle ornement de l'ombre,  
 Dans la voûte d'azur avec ordre semés,  
 Sont les sacrés flambeaux pour ce temple allumés . . .<sup>8</sup>

The foregoing is apparently a paraphrase of a description by Saint-Martin:

C'était lui peindre, en effet, sa destinée sous des couleurs vives, que de lui représenter l'univers comme un grand temple, dont les astres sont les flambeaux, dont la terre est l'autel, dont tous les êtres corporels sont les holocaustes, et dont l'homme est le Sacrificateur. Par-là il pouvait recouvrir des idées profondes sur la grandeur de son premier état, qui ne l'appelait à rien moins qu'à être le *Prêtre de l'Éternel dans l'Univers*.<sup>9</sup>

The closing allusion finds an echo in the *Réponse aux adieux de Sir Walter Scott* which in 1839 appeared in the *Recueilements*:

Voilà l'homme, voilà le pontife immortel!  
 Pontife que Dieu fit pour perfumer l'autel,  
 Pour dérober au sphinx le mot de la nature,  
 Pour jeter son flambeau dans notre nuit obscure . . .<sup>10</sup>

Lamartine, although substituting *pontife immortel* for the *Prêtre de l'Éternel* of Saint-Martin, retains what appears to be a Martinist concept of man as the restorer of nature to its pristine perfection. The latter idea is more closely related to the *philosophe inconnu* than to the rationalism of the preceding century.

The poem in question was composed in 1831 after the *Harmonies*, concerning which Sainte-Beuve noticed several poems that resembled in language and style the *Homme de désir*.<sup>11</sup> Although he regarded this similarity as sheer coincidence, one poem bears appropriately the title *Désir*. Here Lamartine dwells on the unity of creation, "Une âme mélodieuse anime tout l'univers,"<sup>12</sup> a scene which Saint-Martin describes similarly as "l'âme, la vie, et la mesure du plus harmonieux des concerts."<sup>13</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Lamartine, *Méditations poétiques*, ed. Lanson (Paris: Hachette, 1915), I, 155.

<sup>9</sup> Saint-Martin, *Tableau Naturel* (Edinburgh, 1782), II, 127.

<sup>10</sup> *Recueilements poétiques* (Paris: Hachette, 1863), p. 208.

<sup>11</sup> *Portraits contemporains*, I, 195.

<sup>12</sup> *Harmonies* (Paris: Hachette, 1866), p. 179.

<sup>13</sup> *L'Homme de désir* (Lyon, 1790), p. 80.

Elsewhere in the *Harmonies* Lamartine employs terms suggestive of Martinism such as, *source de la lumière*,<sup>14</sup> in describing the deity, and *livre suprême*,<sup>15</sup> when speaking of man's role as the direct recipient of divine revelation.

In the period following the *Harmonies*, there is an allusion to Martinism in the *Voyage en Orient*, where Lamartine pictures himself being greeted by Lady Stanhope as an *homme de désir*.<sup>16</sup>

The words "Fragments du livre primitif," a chapter title in *La Chute d'un Ange* (1838), reveal another borrowing from Saint-Martin. The concept of man as a *livre primitif* was inherent to the *philosophe inconnu*.<sup>17</sup> In the poem Adonaï refers to man, "le seul livre divin."<sup>18</sup> Like the theosophist, Lamartine stresses knowledge of the divine word within as the means for one's redemption.

After *La Chute d'un Ange* the poet's interest in Martinism persisted. In the *Cours Familiar* he refers to man as the *Prêtre de la Création*,<sup>19</sup> the *homme de désir*,<sup>20</sup> and the *pensée manifeste de Dieu*.<sup>21</sup> The latter recalls the description in the *Nouvel Homme*, "cette sublime vérité que l'homme est une pensée du Dieu des êtres."<sup>22</sup>

If Lamartine did attempt to practice privately some phase of Martinism in his own religious life, the lack of direct reference in his work to Saint-Martin, the one endowed with a *beau rayon de vérité divine*, may be attributable to his desire as a political figure not to be identified publicly with any type of occultism. Martinism, as one of many religious and philosophical undercurrents in the poet's writing, may serve to explain somewhat more fully the unofficial and inner longings and aspirations of Lamartine.

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<sup>14</sup> *Harmonies*, p. 360.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 158.

<sup>16</sup> *Voyage en orient* (Paris: Pagnerre, 1854), I, 171.

<sup>17</sup> *Ministère de l'Homme-Esprit* (Paris: Migneret, 1802), p. 35.

<sup>18</sup> *La Chute d'un Ange* (Paris: Hachette, 1913), p. 200.

<sup>19</sup> *Cours familier* (Paris, 1856), I, 162.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, XXI, 135.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 420.

<sup>22</sup> *Le Nouvel Homme* (Paris, 1792), p. 14.

THE CORRECT VERSION OF MALLARMÉ'S  
LETTER TO MÉRAT

A letter from Mallarmé to the minor Parnassian poet, Albert Mérat, written in May 1866, as published in Mondor's edition of Mallarmé's *Propos sur la Poésie*<sup>1</sup> contains several errors of detail, two of which are of some importance. The original of this letter is to be found in the *Département des Manuscrits* of the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris.<sup>2</sup> I shall quote here merely enough to be able to indicate the corrections to be made. The first and most important part given by Mondor relates the impact of the seasons upon Mallarmé's poetic inspiration. Mondor's text reads:

Ma rêverie avait été consumée<sup>3</sup> par la lampe des nuits d'hiver, quand je reçus vos vers; et une promenade n'aurait pu restaurer aux objets entrevus leur réel ni poétique aspect (*Propos*, 73).

In the original, the word *promenade* is followed, quite legibly, by the words *à Nice*, and then a verb, which might be either *n'aurait* or *n'avait*, but, since Mallarmé *had* made a trip to Nice a few weeks before, the reading *n'avait* is much more likely.

The other correction removes what is definitely a flaw in an otherwise sensitive and delicate appreciation of Mérat's poetry. Mallarmé says (in Mondor's text):

... ces *Chimères* m'ont ravi. Cette poésie me donne l'impression d'un treillis délicat et net tendu sur un azur connu et que j'aime; ce qui n'exclut pas de longues fleurs sortant de l'enlacement avec grâce, et apportant du caprice à ce couloir et à ce ciel (*Propos*, 73).

One may well ask: what is *ce couloir* he is talking about? But when

<sup>1</sup> Edition revue et augmentée (Monaco: Editions du Rocher, 1953). Exactly the same text is given in this "revised" edition as in the edition published in 1946.

<sup>2</sup> *Correspondance adressée à Albert Mérat*, 2 vols. *Nouv. acq. fr.*, 10394-10394; Vol. II (10394), f 115, 115<sup>v</sup>, 116.

<sup>3</sup> The quotation of these lines given in Mondor's *Vie de Mallarmé* (p. 202) reads *consommée*. Why did Mondor make this correction without making the others? Did he just make a guess? *Consumée*, which is certainly the reading of the original, makes much better sense here than *consommée*.

one looks at the original, there is no doubt whatsoever that the words are not *ce couloir*; they are *ces contours*, which makes a lot better sense.<sup>4</sup>

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### THE DRAMATIC TEXTURE OF THE *AUTO DE LOS REYES MAGOS*

The fragmentary *Auto de los Reyes Magos*—a twelfth-century liturgical play in Castilian, based on the *Officium Stellae*—has been examined for its linguistic properties,<sup>1</sup> its dependence on the liturgy or its originality,<sup>2</sup> its place in the history of the medieval theatre.<sup>3</sup> In each of these types of study the play has been measured against norms formed independently of the work in question. Only Espinosa, in his study of the versification,<sup>4</sup> comes close to exploring the interior mechanism for its own sake; yet he, in the older manner of scholarship, restricts himself to dry statistics. The effectiveness of the *auto*, which lies in its vital dramatic pattern, has hardly been touched upon.

In the first scene each Magian King, in a soliloquy, debates with himself whether the unusual star betokens the birth of the "Lord of all" (vv. 6, 25, 40). In each case an attitude of critical belief is apparent; that is to say, regardless of whether we accept the editor's punctuation (for a question mark may make all the difference between doubt and belief), each King clearly starts from

<sup>1</sup> One more small correction: a portion of a sentence at the end of the first paragraph given by Mondor (*Propos*, 73) reads "je recommence à sentir encore les parfums," which is redundant. The original has *commence*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the bibliography, out-dated but extensive, in J. D. M. Ford, *Old Spanish Readings*, Boston, 1906, pp. 98 ff. The edition of the *Auto de los Reyes Magos* from which I cite is that given by Ford (pp. 6-12), which reproduces that of Menéndez Pidal in *RABM*, IV (1900), 453-462.

<sup>3</sup> Winifred Sturdevant, *The "Misterio de los Reyes Magos": Its Position in the Development of the Mediaeval Legend of the Three Kings* (Baltimore, 1927).

<sup>4</sup> A. A. Parker, "Notes on the Religious Drama in Medieval Spain," *MLR*, XXX (1935), 170-182.

<sup>5</sup> Aurelio M. Espinosa, "Notes on the Versification of *El misterio de los Reyes Magos*," *RR*, VI (1915), 378-401.

a position of uncertainty, but finally persuades himself of the Christian truth.<sup>5</sup> The parallelism of the Magi's doubts and beliefs is underscored by the liturgical refrain: "Ala ire o que fure, aoralo e" (v. 17); "ire, lo aorare" (v. 31); "ire ala, par caridad" (v. 51). There is, nevertheless, some individuation in the psychological conflicts of the three Kings: Caspar is the most skeptical ("todo esto non uale uno figo"—v. 8); Baltasar, the most inclined to believe—

Certas nacido es en tirra  
aquel qui en pace i en guera  
senior a a seer da oriente  
de todos hata in occidente (vv. 23-6);

but Melchior's faith is almost as great. The Magian Kings are astrologers; they read in the divine book of the heavens,<sup>6</sup> their eyes are turned ever toward the Highest. Because of this, though they are pagans, they are potentially saved, or are capable of salvation.<sup>7</sup> This is the explanation of their critical inclination towards belief, summed up in Melchior's lines:

Es? Non es?  
cudo que uerdad es (vv. 44-45).

The fourth King in the play, Herod, also doubts. But his is wishful doubting bred of the fear of a rival:

Aun non so io morto,  
ni so la terra puesto!  
rei otro sobre mi? (vv. 109-11).

He has no wisdom in him. Instead of raising his eyes to heaven in search of truth, like the Magi, he calls in his court intellectuals: he relies on the world, 'el seglo,' terrestrial writing. Herod's doubt is utterly skeptical, because he wishes it to be so, and because it is based on ignorance:

<sup>5</sup> This "controversial" element in the play is recaptured in the seventeenth-century *autos sacramentales*. Cf. W. J. Entwistle, "La controversia en los autos de Calderón," *NRFH*, II (1948), 223-238.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (New York, 1953), Cap. XVI.

<sup>7</sup> In a similar way Basilio, the astrologer-king in Calderón's *La vida es sueño*, makes an error of judgment, like Clarín, the Second Servant, the Revolutionary Soldier, etc. But his punishment is light, for his sights were set on high.

ia non se que me faga;  
 por uertad no lo creo  
 ata que io lo ueo (vv. 114-6).

In the long run he will indeed be convinced empirically. The coincidence in rank between the Magi and Herod is used in this way for contrast and edification.

To return to the Magian Kings: the first scene begins and ends with the three-fold repetition of the word "verdad" (vv. 7, 10, 11; 45, 47, 50). The word underlines the significance of the Wise Men's rôle: disinterested wisdom seeking truth; "disinterested," in the sense that the Magi, kings like Herod, stand to gain as much as he does—unchallenged sovereignty—by suppressing the truth. This wisdom is shown to differ from the learning of the learned men called in by Herod to give an opinion. The difference between wisdom and learning is a moral one, and here the specific differentiating quality is shown to be charity, the primary virtue of the dawning New Dispensation. Hence it is important that Melchior should be moved to go to the manger "par caridad" (v. 51).

The rhyming of "caridad" with "verdad" stresses the thematic relationship between the two qualities in the drama, as well as the interdependence of them in the Christian life. The first time these two words rhyme it is to indicate Melchior's motive in seeking the Christ Child:

bine lo ueo que es uerdad,  
 ire ala, par caridad (vv. 50-1).

On the second occasion Caspar answers Herod's doubt and fear by invoking the new theological virtue:

*C.*—Rei, un rei es nacido que es senior de tirra,  
 que mandara el seculo en grant pace sines gera.  
*H.*—Es asi por uertad?  
*C.*—Si, rei, por caridad (vv. 84-7).

On the third occasion, at the end of our fragment, the two rabbis have been asked to tell Herod the truth about the new King. They disagree with one another:

*R. 2º.*—por que non somos acordados?  
 por que non dezimos uertad?

*R 1º.*—Io non la se, par caridad.  
*R 2º.*—Por que no la auemos usada,  
 ni en nostras uocas es falada (vv. 143-7).

In these words we have the first indication that the gentle oath "for charity's sake" is meant to be taken seriously as a theme in the play. Uncharitableness is recognized as a source of intellectual, as well as of moral, error. Herod and his counsellors differ from the Magi in that they have no charity, therefore no wisdom, and therefore no sure knowledge of divine truth. The play remains truncated precisely at this its most significant point. The missing scene—the conjectural visit to the *praesepium*, where Christ will demonstrate that he is, at one and the same time, a mortal man, King of Earth, and King of Heaven—could only be a *dénouement* of these thematic threads. In the scene between the rabbis we have the climax. And the dramatic fragment is like the Spanish ballads in ending at its most effective point: the moment when doubt (the Magi's critical doubt tending to belief; Herod's angry uncertainty and rejection of belief) is about to be dissipated for all four kings by self-revealing truth (the fact of the Birth; the dogma of the Incarnation; the triune nature of Christ). Because truth is in the air at this point of history, the Second Rabbi is given the light to see that truth is not at Herod's court because charity is not there. Where charity is not, the new Messiah and his New Law will not be received. The inseparability of truth and charity becomes apparent as the themes which give spiritual unity to the play are intertwined.<sup>8</sup>

Now, this imposition of a simple metaphysical or ideological system on a liturgical play seems to me to be a characteristic of the Spanish religious theatre. The play we have been examining is of the twelfth century; there are no extant dramatic texts in Castilian until, towards the end of the fifteenth century, there appear some liturgical dramas which have reached the same degree of development as the *Reyes Magos*. Gómez Manrique's *Representación* and Encina's first eclogues are indeed much more rudimentary than our play. But Encina's and Vicente's middle period provides a good basis for comparison. In the *Égloga de las grandes*

<sup>8</sup> Calderón, following the Schoolmen, will later dramatize the relationship between wisdom and saintliness, e.g. in *El mágico prodigioso*. Cf. *HR*, xi (1943), 116-124.

*lluvias*, to take but one example, the Christmas shepherds are distraught with the rains, their gambling disputes, Juan's disappointment over his professional setback, etc.; the Angel announces the Birth; the shepherds, by this downpouring of divine grace, receive peace: discord changes to concord; *saña* gives way to *risa*. This is an aspect of the religious theatre in Spain that has received all too little attention. Its derivation from the *Reyes Magos* lends support to the view that there is a continuity of technique in the tradition of the liturgical play, in spite of the historical hiatus.

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SOME ADDITIONAL NOTES TO J. LUIS TRENTI  
ROCAMORA'S *REPERTORIO DE LA DRAMÁTICA  
COLONIAL HISPANOAMERICANA*

The Argentine scholar J. Luis Trenti Rocamora has carved an enviable niche for himself among the historians and philologists who have succeeded in arousing considerable interest in the colonial theater of Spanish America. His *Repertorio de la dramática colonial hispanoamericana*, Buenos Aires, 1950, a compact bibliography of plays written by American dramatists, is a welcome appendix to his work on the history of the colonial theater.<sup>1</sup> Fully aware of the fact that a pioneer bibliography cannot possibly be exhaustive, Mr. Trenti Rocamora has invited others interested in the colonial theater to comment upon and add to the repertory he has compiled.

While all of the *coloquios espirituales y sacramentales* and the *Entremés (entre dos rufianes)* of the sixteenth-century dramatist Fernán González de Eslava are listed by Mr. Trenti Rocamora, there is no indication at all that *entremeses* and *loas* are intercalated in some of the *coloquios*. Some clue to their existence would seem desirable since they are the earliest New World examples of this prolific minor dramatic genre.

*Loas* appear in eight of the *coloquios*. Four entitled *Loa al*

<sup>1</sup> *El teatro en la América colonial* (Buenos Aires, 1947).

virey are found in the fifth (61-62),<sup>2</sup> sixth (71-72), thirteenth (162-63) and fifteenth (186-87) *coloquios*. Another entitled *Loa al virey D. Martín* is in the seventh (86-87) *coloquio*. Two others called *Loa al santísimo sacramento* introduce the eighth (97) and ninth (113-14) *coloquios*. They are all brief monologues which open with either praise for a saint, the sacrament or a governing viceroy, followed by a résumé of the *coloquio* and usually concluding with a plea for attention. The intercalated *entremeses* appear in the sixth (76-80), seventh (84-86), and sixteenth (223-26) *coloquios*.<sup>3</sup>

Excluding the Mexican born Juan Ruiz de Alarcón, who long has been considered a Peninsular playwright, the only seventeenth-century dramatist of note is Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz. All of her plays are listed in the *Repertorio* except two minor pieces: *Loa a los años del Rey Nuestro Señor Carlos Segundo, que celebra Don Joseph de la Cerdá, primogénito del Señor Virrey Conde de Paredes*<sup>4</sup> and her *Loa para el auto de El Divino Narciso*.<sup>5</sup>

The recent publication of two *coloquios* of a previously little known Colombian writer, Juan de Cueto y Mena (1604-?), partially fills the gap in the New World repertory between the pieces of González Eslava and Sor Juana. *La competencia en los nobles y discordia concordada*,<sup>6</sup> written in 1662, is an extensive allegorical play featuring a pedantic debate for supremacy between the four elements, Fire, Air, Water and Land. The other *coloquio*, entitled *Paráphrasis panegírica . . .*,<sup>7</sup> was written for a 1660 special events program in Cartagena commemorating the canonization of Santo Tomás de Villanueva. Although Cueto called the above pieces *coloquios*, they bear more kinship in form and spirit to the later allegorical *loas* of Sor Juana and the Peruvian, Peralta

<sup>2</sup> All page numbers are from Joaquin García Icazbalceta, ed., *Coloquios espirituales y poesías sagradas del presbítero Fernán González de Eslava* (México, 1877).

<sup>3</sup> For a full description of these *entremeses* see: Anthony M. Pasquariello, "The Entremés in Sixteenth-Century Spanish America," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XXXII, no. 1 (1925), 44-58.

<sup>4</sup> Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, *Poemas*, I, impreso en Valencia por Antonio Bordazar, 1709, 146-56.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 358-66.

<sup>6</sup> Archer Woodford, ed., *Obras de Juan de Cueto y Mena*, Publicaciones del Instituto Caro y Cuervo, IX (Bogotá, 1952), 118-89.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 257-85.

Barnuevo. They foreshadow the pretentiously academic pedantry and wordplay which were to constitute the New World formula of these panegyrics.

In the eighteenth-century repertory Mr. Trenti Rocamora has repeated one common error. Among the plays written by the Mexican José Agustín de Castro (1730-1814), he included *La troyana*, a translation of Seneca's tragedy. Instead, *La troyana* was written by an ecclesiastic with a similar name, Padre Agustín de Castro (1728-1790).<sup>8</sup> Trenti Rocamora's source was probably Francisco Monterde's *Bibliografía del teatro de México*, México, 1934, since he does not list in his notes the work of Enrique Olavarría y Ferrari who was originally responsible for the confusion concerning the authorship of this work. Olavarría correctly listed *La troyana* as a work written before 1755 by Padre Agustín Castro, but he also attributed two farces, *Los remendones* and *Los Charros*, to the same author: ". . . el padre Agustín Castro, con su tragedia traducida *La Troyana* y sus sainetes de costumbres nacionales, *Los remendones* y *Los Charros*."<sup>9</sup> Since *Los remendones* and *Los Charros* were written by José Agustín de Castro, later bibliographers took it for granted that he was the Agustín Castro referred to by Olavarría and that he had also written *La troyana*. An obituary notice published in the *Diario de México*, June 21, 1814 offers further evidence that José Agustín de Castro was not the author of *La troyana*. All of his principal works are listed but there is no mention of the play in question.

Some *loas* and *entremeses* can be added to the Mexican repertory between 1790 and 1800. The texts of two anonymous religious *loas* and an *entremés* were reproduced by Olavarría y Ferrari: *Loa en obsequio de la purísima*,<sup>10</sup> *Loa en obsequio de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe*,<sup>11</sup> and a picaresque sketch, *El indio criado*.<sup>12</sup>

The texts of three Mexican *entremeses* appear in the *Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación*, México, xv, 1944: Manuel Borla's (17?-18?) *Entremés de las cortesías* (355-62), the *Entremés del*

<sup>8</sup> See José Mariano Beristain de Souza, *Biblioteca hispano-americana septentrional*, segunda edición Amecameca (Mexico, 1883), I, 280.

<sup>9</sup> *Reseña histórica del teatro en México* (México, 1895), I, 32.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 97-101. Also in Rubén M. Campos, *El folklore literario de México* (Mexico, 1929), 77-81.

<sup>11</sup> Olavarría, *op. cit.*, 104-117.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 122-23.

*mulato celoso* (333-40) by José Macedonio Espinosa (17?-18?) and the anonymous *Entremés titulado el alcalde charmorro* (343-52).

Among the above plays only the *Loa en obsequio de la purísima*, *Loa en obsequio de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe*, and *El indio criado* reflect the New World environment. These *indianista* pieces offer the earliest evidence of an approaching change in the attitude toward the Indian of the theater. They are characterized by the use of dialect and colloquialisms, by the presentation of peculiar social conditions, unique codes of conduct and problems of every day life. This new orientation did not present, it is true, a full picture of Indian life. In the search for the unique and picturesque, the authors of these sketches unduly emphasized the bizarre and grotesque: the Indian's gluttony, naiveté, menial occupations, petty thievery and propensity for drink. Nevertheless, it should not be forgotten that the half-amusing, half-pathetic behaviour dramatized in these farces revealed the changing temper of American culture. Interest in the common and humble lot of the Indian pointed to the future, to the realization that America offered a vast amount of such interesting material which was of vastly greater importance to the future of American literature than a sterile imitation of Peninsular stage figures, melodramatic action, pretty sentiment and happy morals which for two centuries had offered a real handicap to local artists in their search for true norms of native theatrical expression.

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## REVIEWS

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*The Life of St. Chad: An Old English Homily.* Edited with Introduction, Notes, Illustrative Texts and Glossary by RUDOLF VLEESKRUYER. Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Co., 1953. Pp. viii + 248. \$4.00.

This OE prose text was first published by Napier in *Anglia*, x (1888), 131-56, and is here edited for the first time since then. Dr. Vleeskruyer's purpose, as set forth in the preface, is twofold:

"to provide a full critical apparatus for the study of this interesting relic of early Old English prose" and "to place the text against a broader background of Anglo-Saxon literary history and to relate its composition to the establishment of a common medium of vernacular prose-writing before the period of King Alfred." The second of these aims goes far beyond Napier's modest but excellent study and is carried out chiefly in the long introduction, which consists of five parts: Manuscript (1-11), General Character of the Homily (12-22), Vocabulary (23-37), Date and Provenance of the Original (38-71), Sounds and Inflections (72-151).

The homily is the first item in Bodleian MS. Hatton 116 (known in Napier's time as MS. Junius 24), which dates from the first half of the twelfth century and seems to have been a product of the Worcester scriptorium. That it depends on Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, iv, 2-3, for biographical facts about the third bishop of Mercia was pointed out by Napier, and this has generally been accepted as the ultimate source of the work; but Vleeskruyer shows that certain lines before and after the extracts from Bede derive from the *Vita S. Martini* of Sulpicius Severus, that the sentences joining these three parts of the homily have no identifiable Latin source, and that the formal homiletic ending is of a familiar kind that is related to Church Latin sacramental phraseology. Though they come to the same conclusion by different routes, Napier and Vleeskruyer believe that the OE sermon has as its immediate source a Latin homily no longer extant, and in the latter's opinion the OE version is connected with "the formation of popular legend around the hazy figure of a seventh-century ascetic, whose remains were credited with healing powers so remarkable that they were well-known far beyond the local confines of Lichfield, the place of his tomb." A study of the style of the homily, which is alliterative and poetic, and of its vocabulary, which contains a number of dialectal, rare, and archaic words, leads Vleeskruyer to the conclusion that its date is early, that it is of West Mercian origin, and that it is indebted to the familiar technique of OE religious poetry. In short, he places it in the stream of "a vigorous tradition of Mercian vernacular writing" that antedates Alfred's prose. Whereas Napier assigns the original to the first half of the tenth century and locates it in the SE Midlands, Vleeskruyer (who thinks that the copy used by the twelfth-century scribe was the translator's original) favors a date in the second half of the ninth century, preferably 850-875, and considers it likely that "both the Latin *vita* and the Old English version of it were composed to commemorate the saint in his own see of Lichfield."

Like many doctoral dissertations, this work tends to be unduly long. The detailed treatment of phonology and morphology, which takes up eighty pages, and to a lesser degree the other sections of the introduction might have been more concise; at any rate, the texts edited in Methuen's Old English Library show what can be

done within a small compass. The homily, however, is here given an excellent text, with sources and parallels printed on opposite pages; the notes are full and clear; and the glossary is all that could be desired. The bibliography, though selective, is up-to-date, and throughout his work the editor gives evidence of his thoroughness and his understanding. He admittedly does not know all the answers, and if this newcomer to OE studies will look further into such matters as the prose style of OE translations and the connection between OE poetry and the pre-Alfredian prose tradition, he is certain to increase our indebtedness to him.

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*George Herbert: His Religion and His Art.* By JOSEPH H. SUMMERS. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1954. Pp. 247. \$4.25.

There are few universities without a course titled "metaphysical poets of the seventeenth century"; indeed, we have so totally adopted this vantage-point that scholars are already writing the history of the historians of the "Donne tradition." But like all syntheses, once achieved, this one was the prelude to new distinctions. Donne's garland of immortality is secure; now the critics are lightening George Herbert of Donne's shadow, which too long has obscured the major values in *The Temple*. Rosemary Freeman made a valuable beginning in placing Herbert at the peak of the "emblem" mode which played so palmary a part in contemporary taste, and Rosemund Tuve showed that we had scarcely touched the materials needed for a just reading of this master in a tradition much older than Donne's "felt thought" or peculiarly "ransacked" conceits. Now Professor Summers has essayed to write the first fully-rounded study of the new Herbert, with avowals that "Donne's influence was by no means so preponderant as most modern critics have assumed" (p. 205), and that "The literary term 'metaphysical,' whether defined by 'spirit' or style, has lost whatever descriptive value it may once have possessed" (p. 203). This book rejects as well the yet earlier view, fathered by G. H. Palmer and perpetuated by L. C. Knights, that Herbert's lyrics are the autobiographical account of one man's anguished struggle to choose between the world and the spirit. Rather, like Coleridge, Summers sees in Herbert's work the voicing of a churchman's experience—albeit, a churchman difficult of classification—and feels that neither the churchman nor the poet can be understood in isolation, "for they are intimately and inextricably interrelated in *The Temple*" (p. 11).

Beginning with a history of Herbert's reputation (which adds some fact and much interpretation to Hutchinson's introduction to *The Works*), Summers completes the first section of his book with a review of the "life" and an analysis of Herbert's religious position. A second section investigates the formal structure and rationale of *The Temple* and Herbert's theory of language decorum. The last section sets out an analysis of Herbert's poetic and proceeds to examine his metrical experiments, the rôle of music in his imagery and metrics, and his "handling of a traditional mode and a traditional form, allegory and the sonnet."

The interpretation of Herbert's biography finds him resigning his political ambitions in 1624 when the court's intricate war schemes, the failure of the Virginia Company, and growing royal hostility toward Sir John Danvers converged to prove "that, for a person of his connections and convictions, a 'life based on divinity' and 'great place' in civil affairs were then incompatible" (p. 44). The "divinity" to which Herbert turned was a moderate Anglicanism: he belongs in the Hookerian tradition which regarded ritual and prayer book as "beautiful or reasonable," but enters the Calvinist fold on predestination and the Covenant of Grace. However, Herbert's concern was not really with theology or ritual: it was with the individual experience of God, "while engaged in the active life" (p. 69). And the poetry was conceived in this spirit: "For Herbert, nearly all the earlier functions of the lyric were subsumed under the concept of praise," and "Praise expanded into the enjoyment of grace and communion with God, . . . the writing of a verse gave to Herbert 'the Quidditie' of the spiritual experience" (pp. 105, 107).

In explaining Herbert's mode of poetic expression, Summers introduces the concept of the poem as hieroglyph, in which "A hieroglyph is 'a figure, device, or sign having some hidden meaning; a secret or enigmatical symbol; an emblem'" (p. 123). This theory is traced from the cast of mind which sought "types" of Christian experience everywhere in the *Old Testament* and quincunes everywhere in nature. But here, while he traces out the theory's ramifications at some length, Professor Summers has laboured to bring forth obfuscation. As a glance at Quarles will show, seventeenth-century critics used "emblem" and "hieroglyph" as closely-equivalent terms; and Rosemary Freeman (*English Emblem Books* [London, 1948], pp. 30, 168, and chap. vi, *passim*) has widely-familiarised the "emblem" as a modern critical term in relation to Herbert's poetry which conveys ideas identical in all essentials to those in Summers' "hieroglyph" theory. This reader, at least, does not see how clarity is served by multiplying our already indigestible critical vocabulary with synonyms, no matter how attractive.

But it is in the third section that the book comes to grips with the poetry of George Herbert, and here two classes of critical particu-

larisation emerge: insights into how Herbert transmutes common forms and themes into first-rank poetry, and close readings of individual poems. Summers' best work appears in the former class: he makes a valuable point in discussing Herbert's subordination of imagery to design (p. 116), and the analysis of Herbert's use of the sonnet is of great interest. But the most valuable chapter of the book is that on Herbert's use of music in poetry. It is a successful approach in the direction usually associated with "theatre"-oriented dramatic criticism: Summers is not merely attempting to show the relevance of music to Herbert's verse, but to demonstrate the *essential* relevance of this non-verbal technique to a literary comprehension of the poems.

When one turns to the "close reading" of single poems, one wonders what audience the author had in mind. These explications, at their best (and they are not always at their best), are classroom sketches. No poem is "read" thoroughly; some readings ("Aaron," pp. 136-8) are simply useless. The *pièce de résistance* is a long examination of "Church Monuments" (pp. 129-35) which ultimately resolves into some rather obvious comments on structure and the hopeless task of trying to convince the reader that sound patterns are echoing a precise meaning. Critical failure in any book is unfortunate; in a book on Herbert it is seriously distressing. One of the major critical achievements of our century has been Rosemund Tuve's *A Reading of George Herbert*, published two years ago. Professor Tuve, with meticulous and exciting scholarship showed us the liturgical materials needed to justly view Herbert in all his rich traditionalism, and proceeded to apply them to opening out many poems. Professor Summers mentions Tuve's "fine" book in the preface, but proceeds to examine poem after poem without reference to her work. It seems only just to say that the only real difference I can discern between Summers' reading of "The Bunch of Grapes" (pp. 126-8) or the "Jordan" poems (pp. 108-111) and the explications of these same poems in Tuve's study, is that Summers' relative simplification robs the poems of the great richness Tuve had discovered in them. "Joseph's Coat" (pp. 128-9) is tracked along a more original route, but with a naïve vagueness discouraging after Tuve's fascinating reading of the same poem. Neither Herbert nor his readers is done much service in such unconsidered explications as these.

There are interesting things in this book, but it has not sufficiently absorbed the best work on Herbert which preceded it. For the informed scholar this study will be more often disappointing than not; for the student it will be a sometimes useful, sometimes misleading handbook.

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*The Harmonious Vision: Studies in Milton's Poetry.* By DON CAMERON ALLEN. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1954. Pp. xx + 125. \$3.00.

Milton was both too devout and too rational to share the Renaissance idea of God as the supreme poet whose poem was the world (hence the "flat" expository speeches in *Paradise Lost* of a God who "knows what he has created and needs no comparatives"), or the converse idea of the poet as a god and creator. Rather, says Professor Allen, "the poet and his poems are parts in the essential harmony of creation." This concept, held by the young author of the second prologue (on the music of the spheres), only deepened with age and experience. In youth, too, Milton saw "that virtue is the way to harmony and that harmony is the center of the vision of the Golden Age." The vision is bodied forth in various ways, notably in terms of music earthly and celestial. Adam and Eve live in a vision, but with their sin and their recognition of it "the vision passes, and they are neither poets nor prophets again." But God's instrument, the poet, provides another vision, the consolation of God's providence. "The poet-prophet, looking backward and forward in time, cannot permit the harmonious vision to fade without some hint of the greater vision of redemption." Adam and Eve are both finally cheered by Michael's visions (Eve in dreams). "The harmonious vision is lost but it can be won again. Towards its recapture, Milton, true son of Eve, expended the full powers of his poetic life."

Having thus outlined Milton's poetic, philosophic, and religious vision, Mr. Allen proceeds to analyze poems that express facets or phases of its development. In *L'Allegro* and especially in the "more personal" and "more mature" *Il Penseroso*, a solitary, aloof, and alert young poet is ascending the contemplative ladder, from common through intellectual to poetic experience and finally, in anticipation, to the religious and "prophetic strain." Such things as the magical properties of the Squire's Tale, the Great Bear (a Hermetic symbol of perfection), the tower (a Platonic image of the mind), and church music carry the artistic and spiritual ascent far above the slight and everyday level of *L'Allegro*. In welcoming a serious and often fresh and suggestive reading, one may hesitate over the symbolic pressure put upon some items.

A reader, or one reader, finds himself going through the other studies in the volume with a similar mixture of enlightenment and occasional scepticism—which is doubtless as it should be when a critic seeks to refine or modify accepted ideas. In the *Nativity* Milton achieves triumphant success through the basic Miltonic method of drawing from opposed unrealities a high poetic reality. In *Comus*, on the other hand, the method fails; the evidence, and the result, are confusion in structure, in styles, in the blending of

sources, and most of all in intellectual texture, in a lack of accord between artistic emphasis and intended moral emphasis, and in the dubiously Christian character of the whole. Apart from some external—and perhaps experimental—elements that are generally recognized, I can only say that I see no such evidence of confusion or fumbling. Why, for instance, is the Lady "a curious mixture" in being "half-rational, half-intuitive"? Is she not, as we might expect, meeting Comus first on the rational plane that is common to both and then on the religious plane where she consciously stands alone?

In the discussion of Milton's early elegies and of *Lycidas* the scholar takes over for a while, to deal with consolatory, elegiac, and pastoral traditions, but the critic, recognizing the uniqueness of *Lycidas*, goes on from recent analyses of imagery to trace the pattern through which Milton asks and answers the great questions about God's providence and the human situation.

Another essay begins by contrasting the despair of Satan with that of Adam and Eve and of Samson. The guiding passion of the defeated Satan and his lieutenants is the desperation of the damned. Adam and Eve are enabled to rise from suicidal despair through grace and contrition, and are rewarded with a prophetic—if inevitably inharmonious—vision of human history. (There seems, by the way, to be a lack of harmony in views expressed on evil and the fall: we read on p. xix that "The first eight books of *Paradise Lost* are a commentary on a vision of the world in which evil is still unknown save as an abstraction"; on p. 80, "The truth is that Adam and Eve (he with his curiosity and uxoriousness, she with her pride and inward rebellion) fell steadily from the day of their creation and are finally made aware of the fall through the symbolic disobedience of taste.") In the discussion of Samson's despair and recovery, two main pivots are Dalila and Harapha. The argument that Dalila is in all her speeches serious and sincere (so far as her shallow and lustful nature allows) may seem more persuasive than the argument that Harapha, feeling Samson's growing confidence in God and his supernatural endowment, changes from an honest, generous warrior into a blustering coward; at any rate the change seems to begin with Samson's first and Harapha's second speech.

Mr. Allen presents *Paradise Regained* as "a totally new dramatic epic describing a contest between an antagonist and a protagonist whom we have never before seen." Satan is dominated by cold fear and only pretends not to know Christ's true identity—which would seem to weaken needed dramatic tension; and why should not Satan clearly declare his knowledge in his infernal councils instead of expressing uncertainty? What Mr. Allen emphasizes is the other dramatic element, the uncertainty that a share of human nature creates in Christ when he is alone; when confronted by Satan, he manifests a divine and increasing certainty.

Obviously this book is not a fully rounded exposition of Milton's central vision of divine order as it appears in his poetry from youth to age; as my meagre outline has indicated, it is a group of essays which all contribute to define and illustrate the poet's vision, though they are not all equally close to the center and though they take in other things as well. The most complex rendering of the harmonious vision, *Paradise Lost*, is a main theme only in the fifteen-page section "Description as Cosmos: The Visual Image in *Paradise Lost*," which deals with images of light; there are some incidental—and substantial—pages elsewhere. While we may wish for the more comprehensive and more closely unified study that the author could so well have written, he has treated the poems as poems and not as documents; and within brief compass he has discussed or touched on many things with pregnant economy. We may be glad for all that an expert and perceptive Miltonist has chosen to say on so many important poems and themes. The scholar has been largely absorbed into the critic (which is of course the right end of the scholar's harmonious vision), and he is addressing both scholars and that apparently growing body of critical readers who have found that Milton is more subtle and exciting than they used to think.

Among misprints in English and Greek perhaps the only deceptive one is in the statement (p. 26) that the *Nativity* "was written in the small hours of December 25, 1620."

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*Charles Churchill: Poet, Rake, and Rebel.* By WALLACE CABLE BROWN. Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 1953. Pp. 240. \$4.00.

In the first full-length biography of Charles Churchill to be published since the poet's death in 1764, Wallace Cable Brown provides a moderate account of the man he rightly calls the "unwanted stepchild of the eighteenth century." Sifting out the inaccurate and often apocryphal reports of Churchill's career, Professor Brown makes the most of scant data to present a cohesive biographical narrative, and at some points adds new and welcome material. His versions of Churchill's schooling at Westminster and his unhappy curacy at Rainham are judicious and persuasive. He argues convincingly that Churchill's notorious affair with Elizabeth Carr occurred late in November, 1763, not early in the year as previous writers have indicated, and he clarifies the circumstances surrounding Churchill's ill-fated journey to France in 1764. Amply and unblushingly, he documents Churchill's reputa-

tion as a rake, although I suspect he has been too charitable toward the poet's role as a member of the Hell-Fire Club.

Professor Brown's interesting analysis of Churchill's use of the heroic couplet, and of his indebtedness to Pope as well as to Dryden appeared as well in his earlier volume, *The Triumph of Form*. To this material he adds an explanation of the irritating paradox of Churchill's bludgeoning vituperation and brilliantly subtle indirection. "Churchill the man," he writes, "is always at the heart of his work." But at its finest—*The Prophecy of Famine*, *An Epistle to William Hogarth*, *The Candidate*, and the *Dedication to William Warburton*—his poetry "has an independent life of its own, a life that may be evaluated apart from the man who created it." One cannot seriously argue with this contention. It is feasible to add, however, that certain of Churchill's personal experiences, notably with Wilkes and the *North Briton*, sharpened his perception of the use and value of irony. Furthermore, his careful refinement of the "character" from *The Ghost* to *The Candidate* suggests that Churchill controlled his best work more consciously than Professor Brown allows.

Despite its value as a careful source study, the biography demonstrates less vision than one wishes, for the approach seems hobbled by an inadequate perspective of the poet's relation to his age. The tag of "rebel" with which Professor Brown labels Churchill has been affixed indiscriminately for too long, particularly since nothing in the substance of Churchill's poetry exhibits sharp deviation from the patterns of thought current in his time. Churchill's attitude toward the theater had been commonplace for a decade; it was his manner, not his matter that shocked London. His rejection of the ode, elegy, and pastoral reflects attitudes expressed by most of the major contemporary critics, including Dr. Johnson, his arch foe. His confused and contradictory utterances about critical theory (a subject Professor Brown omits) neither advance nor retreat beyond the position held by the "critical Arabs" of the day. Churchill's politics come nearest to warranting the use of the tag "rebel." But even here, despite his powerful attacks upon Bute, Mansfield, and others, and his superb performances in the *North Briton*, Churchill is never so much against authority as he is resentful of the abuses of authority. At his most liberal point, Churchill approaches Edmund Burke; Professor Brown unjustifiably thrusts him beyond. One regrets, therefore, that the biographer has not made explicit the sense in which he employs the word "rebel." If by it he means that Churchill's poetry exhibits the restlessness and intellectual inconsistency characteristic of the mid-eighteenth century, I am inclined to agree. If, however, as I suspect, he means it to suggest the idea of progress, I fear that the poet's work denies Professor Brown's claim.

ARTHUR WALDHORN

*The City College of New York*

*Box, Pit, and Gallery: Stage and Society in Johnson's London.* By JAMES J. LYNCH. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1953. Pp. xii + 362. \$5.00.

In this study Professor Lynch has re-surveyed the theatrical milieu of mid-eighteenth century London by extending the traditional Age of Garrick backward to the Licensing Act of 1737 and forward to 1777 to form a homogeneous theatrical Age of Johnson. The central theme of the work is the inter-relation of stage and society, particularly the composition of the repertory and the influences within the playhouses and the social structure which determined the dramatic pattern of the day but which, Mr. Lynch believes, failed to produce "a great national drama" (p. 7).

Mr. Lynch examines first the repertory during these forty years, presenting the vogue of plays by statistical information concerning the proportions of comedy and tragedy, the place of sixteenth, seventeenth, and early eighteenth century plays in the repertory, and the principal dramatic tendencies. Here he gives an especially full account of Shakespearean revivals in mid-century, a discussion which can now be further amplified by the notices in C. B. Hogan's recent *Shakespeare in the Theater, 1701-1750*. In the second and third sections he discusses the conditions which to a degree dictated the repertory: the professional (manager, actor, playwright) and the amateur (the audience, with its taste for novelty or the fashionable, as well as the political, moral, and critical trends which influenced popular judgment of plays).

Mr. Lynch's approach to his subject is realistic, comprehensive, and useful. He attempts to make each aspect of stage and society contribute to an understanding of the mid-century scene by integrating play and playwright with manager, actor, audience, and the temper of the times. This integration is achieved, in part, by his examination of the conditions which brought into the repertory new or newly revived plays, lessened the vogue of others, and elevated still others into fresh appreciation. Thus, the immense success of *Romeo and Juliet* shows the working out of a combination of complex forces: the motivation for adding a long-unacted play by Shakespeare to the core of his works already in the repertory; competitive presentations of the tragedy at the patent houses simultaneously, permitting London to compare two sets of performers (Garrick and Mrs. Bellamy, Barry and Mrs. Cibber); the influence of previous adaptations in determining how nearly the mid-century text compared with Shakespeare's original versions; and the impact of the popularity of the play on the prosperity of the companies, their further devotion to Shakespeare, and public estimation of the dramatist. Although some of these matters, such as the new drama or Shakespearean revivals, have been rather fully examined before, Mr. Lynch stresses more than many previous scholars the

necessity for a synthesis of diverse influences in a realistic approach to the theater in the mold of society.

Because Mr. Lynch's approach is ambitious and rewarding, it is regrettable that, although he has based his findings on the offerings of the two patent houses, theatrical memoirs, essays, prefaces, and correspondence, he has not used more fresh material from somewhat neglected primary sources to supplement his many secondary ones. For example, the long runs of Drury Lane and Covent Garden playbills in the Huntington Library and the Cross-Hopkins diaries in the Folger Library, with listings of many nightly receipts and comments by the prompters, offer very illuminating indications of audience response to plays. Similarly, the chapters on the professional theater could have been profitably augmented by securing from the financial records of the patent houses (in the British Museum and Folger Library) fascinating and enlightening data on nightly receipts, the profitable nature and influence of the benefit, expenditures to authors of new plays, charges for new scenes and habits, payments to orchestra, singers, dancers, scene-painters, and other personnel who assisted in entertaining the public. These financial operations show the theater as a business organization spending thousands of pounds yearly to gauge and cater to public taste. Similarly, the newspapers in this period, giving far more attention to the stage than ever before, offer invaluable material not only from reviews but also from letters to the editor, essays, and news items concerning plays, acting, riots, actors, playwrights, and moral problems in the drama. Because the papers reflect a more varied cross-section of public opinion than do essays by more formal critics, these materials would strengthen the sections on the spectator as critic.

Although an exploration of these sources might not erase Mr. Lynch's lament that the mid-century failed to produce great drama, an examination of playbills for these forty years suggests that the creation of enduring drama was not necessarily foremost in the minds of manager, playwright, and spectator. With the winter season legally restricted to two legitimate houses and Italian opera, the professional theater concentrated upon presenting a varied show to please box, pit, and gallery, whose differing tastes could be satisfied with a full program, beginning with First, Second, and Third Music (including, often, the instrumental works of Purcell, Handel, Corelli, and lesser figures), a prologue, the play (still the center of attention), with *entr'acte* song and dance embracing a great range of themes, and followed by farce, pantomime, ballet or other novelty. (The playbill reproduced following p. 178 gives a small sample of the variety to be found in mid-century bills.)

Yet within the limits set by himself, Mr. Lynch has done a very readable and useful analysis of the theater as a professional organization responsive to public taste and influenced by tradition, intel-

lectual currents, and moral and critical standards. His materials are presented clearly and interestingly; and, when one considers the vast body of detail, there are relatively few factual errors, such as 1724 instead of 1714 (p. 82) when Cibber, Wilks, and Booth became joint managers of Drury Lane, or 1772 instead of 1773 when Macklin (p. 103) traditionally but probably erroneously has been credited with introducing Scottish habits into the role of Macbeth.

EMMETT L. AVERY

*State College of Washington*

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*Thomas De Quincey: Literary Critic. His Method and Achievement.* By JOHN E. JORDAN. Berkeley and Los Angeles: Univ. of California Press, 1952. Pp. 301. \$3.75.

Because of its unevenness, inconsistency, and occasional brilliance De Quincey's literary criticism has produced a variety of attitudes towards his work. He has been condemned as a violent dogmatist, whose range was limited by a narrow appreciation and sympathy and whose judgment was shackled by a set of barren prejudices. But his logical acuteness, his bold generalizations and his prose style have excited admiration and even the belief that his best work exemplifies the finest romantic criticism. Mr. Jordan, in a methodical study, reopens the case (the judicial metaphor is Mr. Jordan's and dominates the tone of the book) of De Quincey's achievement by focusing on his critical methods as revealed in his practical criticism. The study is premised on the conviction that although De Quincey is not a "great critic" he is a "real critic" who continues to be anthologized because he possesses two qualities of a "good critic": a persuasive prose style and a "penetration and insight of great if spasmodic power." This somewhat ambiguous premise leads to the central thesis that, despite the seeming contradictions of De Quincey's work (witness the disparity of judgment among his commentators), there is a "kind of unity" in it—a unity that derives from a persistent concern with the psychological effect on the reader of a work of art (Mr. Jordan terms this a "prevailing affective base") and an ability to analyze this effect with logical precision and from a variety of approaches.

The book falls into a rather strict tripartite form: "The Critic," "The Method," and "The Results." In Part One, Mr. Jordan develops the idea that De Quincey's critical power results from a "partly reconciled dualism of reason and feeling." By liberal quotation from a variety of sources written at different times in a long career, Mr. Jordan attempts to show that De Quincey was a "middle-of-the-road critic with an affective bias"—and though in actual

practice his psychological stress would alternate between reason and feeling, yet underlying these apparently conflicting utterances was the conviction that emotive "power" in art derived from a fusion of intellect and emotion. The dualistic tendency in De Quincey's thought is further elaborated in two chapters that discuss "two De Quincey's: the logician and the dreamer, the cool analyst and the emotional impressionist." The bifurcation serves more as a convenient method of arranging citations than as a clarification of the "reconciled dualism." In "The Critic as Dreamer" are gathered illustrations of De Quincey's sympathy with mystery and magic as *values* in literature (shown by his pleasure in musical prose as opposed to his distaste for Swift's "vernacularity" or Bacon's "short-hand style," his worship of the "mystery of genius" in the figure of Shakespeare, his delight in the supernatural and in the sublimity of Milton). "The Critic as Logician" stresses De Quincey's *method* of logical analysis. It is, perhaps, unfortunate for his argument that in illustrating De Quincey's logical powers, Mr. Jordan presents De Quincey's scathing attack on Pope's "correctness," but to illustrate De Quincey's "common sense"—which Mr. Jordan distinguishes from logical acumen—he rightly looks for examples elsewhere. He also implies, strangely, that the "precedence" for the criticism of Pope's "imperfect expressions" lay primarily in a few remarks of Wordsworth and Hazlitt rather than in many eighteenth century critics from Dennis to Johnson.

De Quincey's "peculiar advantage as a critic is," Mr. Jordan believes, "that the variety of his approaches to literature permitted different kinds of insight while his basic concept of the moving power of art maintained a unity of purpose." Part Two, "The Method," examines these various approaches, which are divided, with an almost arbitrary scholastic rigor, into the investigation of "the efficient cause, the author; the material cause, the age; and the formal cause, the genre." Although De Quincey explicitly rejected the notion that biographical information about an author is necessary to the reader's understanding of a work, in critical practice he often inferred the character from the work, supplemented by some biographical information (or, frequently, misinformation) and, as Mr. Jordan demonstrates, applied this character analysis (termed a "mind-construct") as a tool or method for explicating and evaluating specific passages. Mr. Jordan is fully aware of the limitations such a method entails and his analysis of De Quincey's remarks on Lamb, Coleridge, Southey, and Wordsworth is suggestive and helpful. It may at times seem, however, that the "biographical approach" is a rather imprecise way of distinguishing some examples he gives of this technique. At least, it is not quite clear that De Quincey's "mind-construct" of Wordsworth is a method that shapes and determines his analysis of diction and imagery. But the development of De Quincey's

prejudice against Pope into what is termed a "hardened construct" or "idée fixe" is carefully analyzed, and the conclusions are a useful corrective to the views of Proctor and Sackville-West. Turning from the biographical to "The Historical Approach" ("from the mind-construct to the age-construct"), Mr. Jordan considers De Quincey's efforts to interpret "effects" by recourse to social, intellectual, and artistic history. De Quincey's theory of Greek tragedy provides an illuminating example of the method and a bright spot in his critical canon. Somewhat less satisfactory, however, as an instance of the method is his examination of the role of sin in Christian thought; indeed, these remarks would seem to suggest more a literary approach to the history of ideas than an "historical approach" to literature. And we may wonder at being asked to view as an historical kind of critical methodology De Quincey's sweeping generalizations of an epoch. Mr. Jordan argues, for example, that De Quincey created an "age-construct" of the eighteenth century and then proceeded to fit specific writers into it. Only in the loosest, or in a very special, sense can such a tendency be called an historical approach. The discussion of method ends on "The Preceptive Approach," under which heading appear three examples (rhetoric, didactic poetry, and novels) of idiosyncratic definitions used in an authoritarian way by De Quincey as measures of literary value. The chapter serves as a useful gathering place for any left-over ideas in De Quincey's work.

The concluding section, which tries to evaluate De Quincey's critical practice, is significantly entitled "A Critic's Balance Sheet," divided between "Debits" and "Credits." Though not meant to be taken literally, the terms suggest one of the limitations of the final estimate—an estimate that comes close to a routine listing of pros and cons (one section is referred to as a "catalogue"). A more important limitation is that Mr. Jordan's appreciation for the methodological value of some passages often conflicts with the reader's judgment of their critical content. However, it should be said that Mr. Jordan approaches his subject with the intention of judging fairly; and if his balancing of good and evil is at times metronomic at least it frees his encomiums from the charge of being one-sided.

Stylistically, there is a rather heavy-footed reliance on the vocabulary of the social sciences ("affective critic," "affective bias," "affective basis," "objectifying the affective," "mind-construct," "age-construct," "content-mindedness" and the like) as well as a plethora of such phrases as "his second-to-none appreciation." Nor is it irrelevant to note that one frequent metaphor in the book—a "key" that unlocks a mind or idea (see pp. 42, 62, 100, 122, 191)—is a mechanical one. For the book suffers from an excess of its own methodology that does not so much vitiate the arguments as give them a "thesis" quality. And this quality is reinforced by too much reliance on and quotation of secondary

materials of questionable relevance (for example, the subjective concern of romantic writers is shown in two pages of quotations from De Quincey, Stanley Chase, Allen Tate, Henry Wells, Wimsatt and Beardsley, Coleridge, Lamb, Hazlitt, C. S. Lewis, and Herbert Read). In spite of these limitations, the book remains as the first extended attempt to analyze De Quincey's practical criticism and, on the basis of wide and judicious reading supported by liberal quotations, to achieve a balanced estimate of his critical method.

JOHN M. BULLITT

*Harvard University*

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*The Strachey Family: 1588-1932. Their Writings and Literary Associations.* By CHARLES RICHARD SANDERS. Duke University Press, 1953. Pp. xi + 337. \$6.00.

The critical essays and biographies of Lytton Strachey have seemed to be the most typical embodiment of the general reaction against nineteenth-century enthusiasms and untidiness which followed the first World War. To measure both the Victorians and the Elizabethans by the standards of Voltaire and Pope was indeed a characteristic activity of Strachey's generation, yet, as this book demonstrates, a partiality for eighteenth-century common sense is attributable, in Strachey's case, not so much to the tastes of his contemporaries as to his own family heritage. His ancestors (even his nineteenth-century ancestors) were people who had valued the dictates of "reason and humanity," and who had remained politely sceptical of all forms of religious or political fanaticism. Many were eccentrics; a few were even clergymen, but none were really mystics. The recurring manifestations of this civilized cast of mind among the Stracheys helps to bind together the somewhat scattered materials of Mr. Sanders' history of the family.

Only the last of the fifteen chapters in this book is devoted to Lytton Strachey, but one strongly suspects that the materials in the other chapters were originally collected as an introduction to the study of his life and work upon which Mr. Sanders is now reported to be engaged. What might have been presented as an introductory chapter to such a study has here been stretched into a separate volume. But because the history of the Stracheys is so interesting and complex, the expansion seems justified. There are, for example, some useful sidelights. From the time of John Donne, the Stracheys are shown to have had contact with men of letters, including John Locke, Southey, James Mill, Coleridge, Peacock, Landor, Browning, Tennyson, and Edward Lear. The discussion of their relations with Carlyle includes a lengthy essay in which the identity of Blumine in *Sartor* is freshly examined.

The greater part of the book consists in accounts of the assorted careers of individual members of the family. Some of this information is new (being based on an extensive study of manuscripts), and much of it is interesting, especially interesting to historians. The early chapters, however, remain unnecessarily obscure, even after a second reading. One is baffled not only by the complexity of the genealogy but by the author's reluctance to disclose that the progenitors of this distinguished family may have been engaged in trade rather than in some more romantic occupation. Yet after Mr. Sanders gets us beyond the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods, these difficulties disappear, and one can more readily follow out the story of the five generations of able administrators who left their comfortable estate in Somerset to occupy important civil and military posts in India. It is ironical that this long line of devoted servants of the British Empire should have been succeeded by an eccentric man of letters who chose to be a conscientious objector during the first World War, although they left their stamp upon him in other ways. As one of his friends noted: "The mastery of a mass of detail, the solid and admirably proportioned architecture of Mr. Strachey's books are an inheritance from generations of civil servants."

The danger of such a history, as Mr. Sanders admits, is that the reader may be left with only a "mere hodgepodge of heterogeneous data," and it is sometimes evident that the author had difficulty in selecting from the mass of information at his command and in presenting it in reasonable order. The style, too, is uneven. That a study of Lytton Strachey's ancestors should be written in the consistently polished and elegant manner of Strachey himself is perhaps more than one can reasonably ask, yet the clichés of an antiquarian are too obtrusive in some of these pages (the opening of chapter II for example). On the other hand, the following comment on the sentimentality of *Elizabeth and Essex* is worthy of the subject himself: "For some reason the sentiment of a satirist—of Pope, of Fielding, and of Thackeray—is likely to have a quality of saccharine sweetness which is to the reader a little unpleasant. It is like the fragrant breath of the tiger in the medieval bestiary."

The book contains many fine illustrations, an index, and an appendix which includes genealogical tables and a list of articles published by various Stracheys in the *Spectator*, a periodical which represents another of the many phases of this remarkable family's activities.

GEORGE H. FORD

*University of Cincinnati*

*Die Landschaft in Baudelaire's "Fleurs du Mal."* By GERHARD HESS. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, Universitätsverlag, 1953. Pp. 158.

As the author indicates in his last chapter, this work deals not only with "landscape" in the literal sense of the word, but more generally with exterior reality as it is reflected in Baudelaire's writings. Prof. Hess starts out with a short historical survey of landscape in literature, from the sixteenth century on, avoiding skillfully both vagueness and tiresome details, while disclosing his intimate knowledge of the whole field; one is a little astonished, however, not to meet with the name of Poe anywhere in this chapter. Pointing out that various treatments of landscape at different periods corresponded to various functions assigned to nature through the centuries, the author goes on to analyze in this sense Baudelaire's use of it. These first chapters are less remarkable for any over-all originality than for the numerous perceptive remarks to be found on every page, and the thoroughness with which the author explores every mode of landscape used by Baudelaire. He is then led to look at this outer reality as part of a system of allegories and symbols, and tries to determine how it comes to have that function by a close analysis of the individual poems.

The dominant point of view of the last chapters is somewhat special. It reflects Prof. Hess's thesis that the will for "correspondances," in the sense of an experiencing of universal Harmony, is at the center of Baudelaire's universe, only overshadowed at times by his unrelated desire to create satanic beauty. This search for Harmony is interpreted as a special kind of flight, a flight into depth. The poems of "ecstatic landscape" in which this is most clearly manifested show, according to Prof. Hess, that the poet was not always ready to fall back into despair, wanting it although he feared it, conscious of its inevitability even when seemingly carried away. In these moments of ecstasy the world is experienced as a unity; they are thus closed in themselves and perfect. This is not made as clear as one might want it to be, and the emphasis on it is somewhat disturbing, all the more because in the previous pages the author stated that there is no hope in Baudelaire, but only a vain appeal to a projection of the past into the future. Prof. Hess seems to strive to cleanse Baudelaire from the accusation that he was *never* anything but a poet of despair, yet only very few poems are reinterpreted in that sense. But whatever the importance and the defensibility of this thesis, the analyses of the poems by which he tries to convince us of its truth are most rewarding. It is unfortunate that this book, clearly and logically constructed on the whole, should be written in a style so involved and awkward as to make its reading rather painful. Students of Baudelaire should let themselves be influenced by the celebrated "limpidité" of his prose!

ELÉONORE M. ZIMMERMANN

New Haven, Conn.

*Jules Laforgue and the Ironic Inheritance.* By WARREN RAMSEY. New York: The Oxford University Press, 1953. Pp. 302, including 9 illustrations. \$5.00.

Mr. Ramsey's study of Laforgue and his influence on twentieth-century writers is an outstandingly successful exercise in the type of popularized scholarly criticism *cum* literary history characteristic of periodicals such as the *Yale French Studies*, and as such very properly deserves its choice as the winner in the Modern Language Association-Oxford University Press Award contest for 1953. The main concessions to ordinary "scholarly" techniques entailed seemed to be: 1) all French citations must be translated; 2) references, substantiating quotes, and secondary remarks are grouped in an appendix; and 3) the running cross-fire of scholarly exchanges directed at former and present writers in the field is eliminated or minimized, so that nothing may stand between the author and his reader to impede his chosen development of topics.

As for the translations, they are rather neutral than poetic, and may thus serve to direct the reader's attention to the French texts, thereby perhaps doing a valuable job of interesting cultivated lay readers whose French has lain rusty since college days. The banishment of footnotes to the rear of the volume, while still an arguable procedure, has wide enough support no longer to require defense. It is doubtful that anyone but professional scholars and critics will miss the customary recapitulations of critical debates and examinations of contrary viewpoints which emerge prominently in most academic studies. I imagine that Mr. Ramsey would be the first to admit some loss in this connection, a loss emphasized by his very apparent competence to hold his critical ground if he chooses. What has been gained in compensation, of course, is a wider appeal, and without any sacrifice of integrity. The work represented by Mr. Ramsey's book may be considered a sort of scholarly "adjustment" to changing intellectual conditions similar, perhaps, to the various curriculum revisions in colleges of liberal arts over the country. It is an attempt, and a good one, to "vitalize" literary investigation of a fairly high level in circles of intelligent readers who are not, and would refuse ever to try to become, professional scholars or critics.

A biographical, chronological system is the basis of the organization of this study. The first ten (of fifteen) chapters trace Laforgue's brief career both externally and internally. His literary development is admirably integrated with the growth of his thought and feelings: his Germanic esthetic theories are presented persuasively as the groundwork for his criticism and poetry; and the "ironic" equilibrium of feeling and thought in all his works carefully analyzed. One may note here and there a tendency—quite natural—to overemphasize the importance of a particular aspect

of Laforgue (for instance, his criticism of other poets, especially Rimbaud and Mallarme, and his contributions to the stream of consciousness technique), or to speak vaguely of "true Symbolists," "lunar syntheses," and the like; but on the whole the treatment is eminently intelligible, enjoyable, and persuasive.

The final chapters contain most of Mr. Ramsey's personal contributions to Laforgue studies and constitute the best work yet done on Laforgue's influence on American poets, especially Crane, Pound, and Eliot. A section of nostalgic interest for those of us old enough to have been reading books in the twenties is devoted to the career and personality of "Frances (not Cardinal) Newman, as she delighted in signing herself," translator of Laforgue's *Moralités légendaires*. Mr. Ramsey is extremely sensitive to the rôle Laforgue has played in the formation of the significant style of twentieth-century poetry in English, and is able considerably to extend the early treatments of this topic by Taupin and others.

An excellent bibliography and an extensive index of names and titles complete the book, which is handsomely bound and enclosed in a charming dust-jacket bearing a white-on-black drawing by Jules Laforgue himself.

BRUCE A. MORRISSETTE

*Washington University*

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*Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer. From Painter to Poet. Together with a Concordance of the "Rimas."* By EDMUND L. KING. México: Porrúa, 1953. Pp. 331.

*Bécquer: saggio e versioni di MARIO PENNA.* Torino: Vincenzo Bona, 1953. Pp. viii + 198.

Dr. King's dissertation, originally accepted by the University of Texas in 1948, has not been brought up to date. Accordingly some important recent studies of Bécquer are omitted from the bibliography, as well as some which are not so recent. But the author has chosen to lean as little as possible on the findings of other scholars: for example, he relegates the whole Heine question to a footnote. Since, then, the views expressed are original, it is a pleasure to find the thesis lucidly expounded.

The thesis is that Bécquer underwent an artistic "evolution" in his progress from painter through prose writer to poet. (The quotation marks are meant to reflect the author's concern lest the term be taken in a strictly chronological sense.) In his pictorial works Bécquer uses the technique of the draughtsman or doodler (tremendous attention to, and accumulation of, barely significant details); this device passes into the prose works in the form of interminable enumerations of details, taken from observation in

the scholarly *Historia de los templos en España*, and from the imagination in the stories of the exotic and the supernatural; the *Rimas* are a refinement and concentration of the *Leyendas*, particularly of the one called *Las tres fechas*. So now we are presented with a Bécquer who imitates, not only a multitude of other writers, but also his own prose work. The "evolution" is brought about by Bécquer's obsessive struggle to express the ineffable, a task which, since his training as a sketcher did not fit him for it, led him, as it were inevitably, to his poetry—those precise, formal statements about confusion, vagueness, transitoriness.

Bécquer the painter . . . is obviously present in Bécquer the prose writer in several ways: (1) in detailed descriptions that are actually digressive lists of *things*—painters' inventories; (2) in the disinclination to treat of change, action, or development and the consequent recourse to supernatural cause; (3) in the preference for dwelling on the static aspects of reality; (4) in the constant, almost obsessive use of light effects. . . . His poetry is produced with much the same subject matter through the suppression of some of these tendencies and the expansion of others (p. 147).

The key to the "evolution" is to be found in the conclusions drawn by Bécquer from a study of light in paintings seen at the Prado. The poet discovered that Claude Lorrain excelled in painting "twilight haze," Rembrandt "points of light," and Murillo the "bath of light." King, in Chapter v, documents the three treatments of light in the *Leyendas*, and thereby reveals the defect in his method. Both here and in the Concordance quotations are collated without commentary, frequently as a result of debatable subjective judgments, when what we need to study, for a thorough knowledge of Bécquer's art, is the subtle ways in which they differ. So much synthesis, unsupported by adequate textual analysis, is misleading. Instead of allowing the thesis to emerge from the accumulation of evidence, King seems to make Bécquer the victim of a thesis conceived early in the investigation of his works. Having discovered the secret, all King needs to do is to transcribe his *fiches*.

Instead of a single Bécquer we now have three persons of a trinity: the Painter, the Prose writer, the Poet. (For "Painter," however, would it not be more accurate to sacrifice the alliteration and say "Sketcher"?) But these three artists live in a vacuum. Can one really exclude Zorrilla, on the one hand, and the modernists, on the other, from a discussion of Bécquer? Can one, with honesty, suppress, the sources of—to cite from a single sentence of D. Dámaso Alonso's—this "gran poeta original" and this "poeta que imita repetidas veces"? D. Dámaso, in the reworking of his *Cruz y Raya* article, "Aquella arpa de Bécquer" (as it appears, for example, in his *Poetas españoles contemporáneos*, Madrid, 1952) has still said the last word on Bécquer's poetic "evolution."

Mario Penna's translations are excellent. The Spanish original

of the *rimas* selected, though not of the *leyendas*, is also published. The introduction (45 pages) gives a good account of the poet's life, and an unsatisfactory, because too general, description of his work. The book—a Capodanno production of the publishing house—is a charming neo-Victorian printing job, beautifully set out and full of plates—sketches by the Bécquers, nineteenth-century prints of Seville and Madrid, title pages of journals. It even includes a reproduction, on newsprint, of the page of the *Contemporáneo* for April 3, 1864, in which the poem *A ella* first appeared, sandwiched between a theatre review and a bullfight notice.

BRUCE W. WARDROPPER

*The Johns Hopkins University*

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### BRIEF MENTION

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*Cambridge Middle English Lyrics*, ed. HENRY A. PERSON. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1953. Pp. v + 91. Professor Person presents here sixty-eight pieces of verse—I can't bring myself to call them poems—from manuscripts in the University and several college libraries at Cambridge, England. He explains that they were found chiefly in commonplace books, and that more than half of them occur in only one manuscript. Nearly half are on religious subjects, some others are moral or reflective, like the long complaint to fortune, there are a few awkward efforts at love poetry, some satires etc., altogether the kind of mixture and quality familiar to us in the collections published by Patterson, Carleton Brown and Robbins. The only novelty is a small group of pretended riddles, whose actual subject matter is of the sort commonly considered indelicate or unrefined. To my, perhaps low-minded, taste, they are by far the most successful pieces in the book, for they are expressed simply, easily, pointedly and lightly, achieving unerringly the effect desired.

Though there are a few short pieces of earlier date, most of the verses are of the fifteenth century. As far as I can discern, they give no new light on the medieval mind but confirm fully the impressions produced by the collections already in print. The fact of their appearance in commonplace books, however is significant evidence of the taste of their time; people included them in their books because they liked them and wanted to be able to re-read them. Linguistically, as far as I have observed, the verses offer nothing new.

The texts appear to be transcribed accurately. The apparatus

includes a list of the manuscripts from which the verses are taken, and twenty pages of interesting notes, but no glossary. In some instances this apparatus is not sufficient to make clear the meaning of a text; e. g. I cannot make sense or syntax out of number 12. If the editor can understand it, I should think he would have realized at least that it might baffle someone not so familiar with such writings as he is. On page 85 there is a puzzling reference to No. 71, as though that were one of the "poems"; but there are only sixty-eight in the collection.

J. R. HULBERT

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*Melville o le ambiguità.* By GABRIELE BALDINI. Milan-Naples: Ricciardi, 1952. Pp. ix + 241. Mr. Baldini's book is an effective contribution to Melville scholarship; he measures his statements by the texts and keeps his reader in direct contact with the works discussed. He acknowledges the effect of Matthiessen and Pavese on his thought ("the few conversations about Melville with Cesare Pavese and F. O. Matthiessen set, and often resolved, the lines of the author's research better than all the criticism he may have read . . ."), and the influence of Matthiessen is apparent in the precision of Baldini's work. However, in the brief list of Italian Melvillists, Baldini's insistence on the dimension of lived reality brings him closer to Vittorini's "lyric documentary" than to Pavese's "moral myth." The book's limitation is clear: it is essentially a study of *Moby Dick*, *Pierre*, "Bartleby," and *Billy Budd*. The other works are treated only in relation to these four, without regard to their autonomy; and even the three lesser masterworks are sometimes "measured by *Moby Dick*," a process which falsifies their own merits. The five chapters on *Moby Dick* are the heart of the study, but the one on *Pierre* seems exceptionally felicitous. The chapter on *Billy Budd* suffers from the notion that the work rests upon an utter acceptance of a Christian universe. No such false monism mars the consideration of *Moby Dick*. Baldini has recognized that behind the work there is no precise system of thought, that in Melville a puritan theology placed in crisis by philosophic doubts and external events is laced with traits of rationalism and fatalism. He has equally recognized that the novel does not function as a coherent system of symbols, but is a plotted narrative which flashes off intuitions of universal value. At the conclusion of his great passage on the color white, Melville said: "And of all these things the Albino whale was the symbol." So inclusive a symbol would be inappropriate to a complex of anagogical niceties; it is appropriate to the vast distances and epic actions of the whale hunt, and in founding his criticism on the latter Mr. Baldini has chosen wisely. The bibliographic apparatus

will be more useful to Italian than to American readers, but it is admirably constructed for its purpose. Mr. Baldini will be a safe guide to Melville's chief works for Italians, and he merits consideration by American scholars.

EDWARD WILLIAMSON

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*The American Way: Aspects of American Civilization.* By JOHN T. FLANAGAN. Groningen Studies in English IV. Editor: Prof. R. W. Zandvoort. Groningen: J. B. Wolters, 1953. Pp. 66. This collection of five addresses on aspects of American life and literature is the by-product of a conference of Dutch secondary school teachers, held in the Spring of 1953 by the U. S. Educational Foundation (Fulbright) and the University of Groningen. The purpose of this conference was presumably to encourage the teaching of American studies in Dutch schools.

The chief obstacles to the introduction of American studies in European schools are the language barrier and the crowded curriculum. What the European teacher needs most is help in the practical problems of text-books and curriculum planning. The will is usually there.

Mr. Flanagan's book therefore does not help a great deal because it deals with provocative ideas rather than facts and problems. What he has to say about his five aspects of the American character (anti-traditionalism, individualism, materialism, the frontier, and equality) is well said, but it is not what immediately needs to be said to this particular audience. The relative proportions of information and indoctrination or special pleading varies in these essays, and where the former is predominant, as in the excellent essay on the frontier, the result is useful. But where, as in the essay on materialism vs. idealism, Mr. Flanagan attempts a direct answer to European criticism of America, he merely produces a badly resolved argument that could only further irritate. As an elementary introduction to the American character, the pamphlet has undoubtedly virtues, but as an approach to the problem of American studies in European schools, it fails to realize the nature of the problem it attempts to solve.

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## CORRESPONDENCE

"NEO-MELANESIAN" INSTEAD OF "PIDGIN ENGLISH." Recently the problem of Pidgin English in the Territory of New Guinea has been the subject of public discussion, especially as a consequence of the condemnation of Pidgin by the United Nations Trusteeship Council in July, 1953. Misunderstanding of the situation is widespread. In many quarters it is not realized that Melanesian Pidgin is a true language, with a grammatical structure of its own (as I have shown in my *Melanesian Pidgin English: Grammar, Texts, Vocabulary*, Baltimore, Linguistic Society of America, 1943), nor that it fulfills an essential function in Melanesia, by facilitating communication between natives who would otherwise have no language in common, since there are hundreds of different languages in the Territory.

This failure to analyze the situation accurately is due, at least in part, to the name of the language. Both parts of the name *Pidgin English* are misleading. The word *pidgin* suggests to most people a kind of linguistic hash, a formless medley or broken jargon; it is also often confused with "Pig-Latin." The inclusion of *English* in the title leads one to expect a similarity to English, and occasions disappointment and condemnation when it is discovered that the language is really very different from English. In fact, Melanesian Pidgin is no closer to English than French is to Latin.

This being the case, a change of name would seem appropriate. In other instances, the name of a language has been a major factor in influencing public attitudes. In Papua, a pidginized variety of a local language, Motu, is used as a lingua franca; but it is called Police Motu, and as such is not the object of opprobrium. In Indonesia, the pidginized Bazaar Malay has become the basis of the new national language, which, under the name Bahasa Indonesia, is widely respected.

For Melanesian Pidgin, likewise, a new name should be conducive to an objective attitude and to appreciation of the language's merits. The most suitable name that has been suggested so far is *Neo-Melanesian*, a name which reflects the closeness of the language to the structure of Melanesian tongues, and the fact that it is primarily a means of communication among the Melanesians themselves. In the language itself, it might be well to use the term *Tok Melanjin* rather than the current names *tok pigin* or *tok boi*.

If the public can be persuaded to use the name *Neo-Melanesian* instead of the misleading *Pidgin English* it will be a step towards recognition of the language and hence of the contribution it can make to the welfare of the Territory, not only in everyday communication but also in education, medicine, government and other fields.

ROBERT A. HALL, JR.

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